manpower

vol. 2 no. 5 may 1970

training unpolluters

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President Issues Manpower Report

In sending to the Congress the first MANPOWER REPORT of his Administration, President Nixon said:

> "Full opportunity for all citizens remains a central goal for this Nation. To achieve that goal will require exceptionally well-constructed and well-administered manpower programs. We have made much progress toward that end in the last year. . . . But there is still a great deal to do —and this report is especially valuable because it clarifies and underscores these challenges."

This 1970 MANPOWER REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT presents a broad assessment of the Nation's major manpower problems and programs. Topics discussed include:

- How manpower programs can supplement economic policies in working toward full employment without inflation.
- Recent developments in employment, unemployment, and manpower programs, including the proposed Manpower Training Act, recommended by the Administration to make possible better planning and management of manpower programs.
- Progress made and deficiencies still to be overcome in working toward equal employment opportunity.
- Continuance of poverty even in families headed by full-time workers, its concentrations on farms and in urban ghettos, and the chief contributing factors.
- The need to strengthen the unemployment insurance system and the welfare system, and the Administration's legislative recommendations in these areas.
- The rapidly changing manpower demand-and-supply situation in professional occupations.

The 1970 Manpower Report, which was prepared by the Department of Labor, is the eighth issued annually under the Manpower Development and Training Act. The 329-page report, which includes a statistical appendix, is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402 for $2.50.

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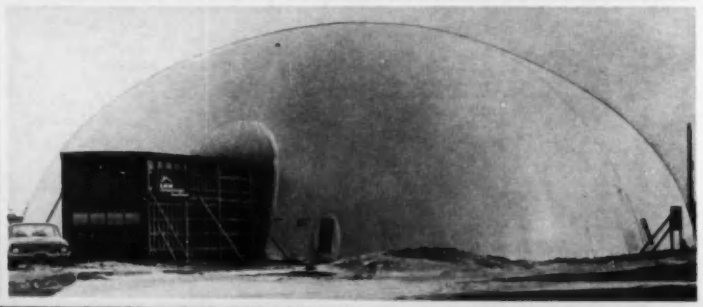
WINTER CONSTRUCTION

weather or not



All but the biggest sites can be enclosed and kept warm and dry by an inflatable air shelter, such as the one used for the construction of an Army maintenance building at Camp Drum, Watertown, N.Y. The Camp Drum shelter easily accommodated a crane.

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By WILLIAM F. DELANEY

It probably is better for Mark Twain's image that historians finally have stopped crediting him with that tired epigram: "Everybody talks about the weather, but nobody does anything about it." It rightfully belongs to Charles Dudley Warner, and now, 80 years after he said it, we sometimes change the weather. More important, we don't let weather change us as it used to. Man's mobility is no longer so dependent on the elements. We even manage to avoid the croup, quinsy, chilblains, and trench foot one got by straying too far from the hearth of Warner's day.

The construction industry, however, still keeps pretty much in step with the weather. True, it does not shut down completely in the winter, but it did not in 1890 either. Neither our great technological rush nor the economics of full employment have brought us close to using our construction labor force the whole year round. During World War II, we did have a near miss at full utilization, but in the 1960's the high levels of demand for skilled men and an unprecedented construction volume did not push the unemployment rates for construction workers as low as one would have supposed. In particular, the monthly rates showed and still show a chronically high variation from winter to summer.

The United States is in the process of building and rebuilding itself; its housing replacement needs alone are estimated at nearly 30 million units, and many of the envisaged public works in environmental improvement and urban development are so huge that cost estimates are frequently stated as significant portions of the Gross National Product. Success in meeting construction goals depends on the full use of manpower throughout the year. We no longer can tolerate a "fair weather" industry that shrinks from the cold and wet. Yet for many skilled and well-motivated workers, when winter comes spring is far behind.

Here are some typical remarks from persons directly affected by the winter lag in building:

A construction worker—"I have the skill and experience and am physically fit. Why must I go 10 to 12 weeks a year without work?"

A general contractor—"I want to keep my crews and equipment busy as long as I can. But I'm not too sure that I can estimate winter work close enough to get the job and cover winter expenses. In this business, one bad job can destroy you. Anyhow, I'm not sure my customers will agree on building in the winter."

A State procurement officer—"We have the money for new work. The public wants new facilities but often we can't get the legal minimum number of bids as our regular bidders are swamped with work. No, we don't do too much winter work. They say the concrete's not up to specifications."

'It's Feast or Famine'

Sam Agati is the business manager of a laborers' union local in New York State's icy north country. In his office in Massena, he describes what his members are up against:

"From the first of December until the first of March, I can't get anything for 30 to 40 percent of my men who work on building construction. For heavy and highway work there may be simply nothing during the winter. Then when the weather improves, I feel I have to get them 50 or 60 hours a week so they can put together a decent year's pay. It's feast or famine. Some of the good men just won't do it and they drift off to warmer areas or to other industries. Nearly everyone gets unemployment benefits and many have to get welfare to get along.

"Fifteen years ago we built the St. Lawrence Seaway. Nearly everything you can do in this business we did in the winter and the Canadians on the other side did even more. Thirty below zero we poured concrete. It can be done and done well. Maybe the Government should write its contracts so the contractor has to work in the winter. Maybe I can get something through collective bargaining. Something's got to give."

These are some of the observations and opinions gathered by the Joint Labor Department-Commerce Department Study on Construction Seasonality, an investigation carried out in 1969 under the Manpower Development and Training Act. The Congress and the Administration wanted to know the answers to such questions as why persistently high construction unemployment rates continued in an expanding economy, particularly in light of reports of serious labor shortages. And how can there be a squeeze on the industry's capacity (with worrisome price pressures) when it appeared that for 3, 4, or 5 months a year much of the industry's resources were idle? And was it true that in Canada and Europe, where winter weather is no better than in the U.S., a lot of construction work is done in the cold months?

The Joint Labor-Commerce Study staff set out to find the extent of this "seasonal unemployment problem"; to see if it was technically possible to work in bad weather; to determine if it was economically feasible for the industry and its customers to absorb the costs of working under adverse weather conditions; and to come up with some practical suggestions that could result in a longer building season.

The first step then was to establish the "facts" about seasonal unemployment in the industry. The staff found that there were a number of widely held beliefs in the industry that proved to be largely false.

There is a belief, for example, that as winter comes, construction workers retire

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Mr. Delaney, a social science adviser with the Labor Management Services Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, was a member of the staff of the Joint Labor Department-Commerce Department Study of Construction Seasonality.

WINTER CONSTRUCTION

continued

to snug, well-built homes to contemplate the past season, a season which has brought them enormous earnings vastly exceeding those of college graduates and other worthy souls. Second incomes they have aplenty, including maximum possible benefits from the unemployment insurance system. They will not work in winter and no one can make them, thanks to the unchecked power of their unions.

There is not much to these myths. Seasonal unemployment is serious, costly, and strikingly durable. It affects every kind of construction and every trade. Heavy and highway construction are the worst hit, with laborers, carpenters, operating engineers, masons, and others of the basic trades being those most affected. It is true that some men in the so-called mechanical or specialty trades, such as plumbers and electricians, can do well. Their jobs can be accomplished in reasonable comfort and protection if the shell of the structure is completed. But even these men suffer from the variations in the seasonal volume of work that affects every construction craft. Interestingly, these seasonal variations persist in every part of the country, even where winters are mild.

Another widely held belief is that construction workers readily shift to other occupations or have second sources of income. There are many people who are loosely attached to the industry, men who can get a few weeks in at peak seasons—farmers, students, even some "hard-core" unemployables and itinerants. But they are not much like the professional construction employee whose skills and aspirations lie in a full-time commitment to the industry and who is not particularly mobile in the occupational or geographical sense.

At any one time there are about 3 to 3½ million Americans who are working in the industry. But because of the changing seasonal pattern of demand, some 6 million will have been employed at some time or another during the year. Admittedly, the hiring of casual workers exaggerates seasonal employment, but the Joint Study found in a four-city survey that even if casual and "short hours" workers were eliminated, the average number of hours worked during the year was 1,535 or about 38 weeks of full-time work. This is a tremendous waste of skilled manpower.

Though seasonal fall-off in demand is the major factor, it is not the only reason why construction unemployment rates will run 2 and 3 times higher than all other industries. There is now an awareness of the other influences which together with seasonality cause intermittent employment. The most significant of these is nonrepetitive production, which is the special nature of construction. A construction worker stays on the job as long as he is needed and is let go as soon as he finishes his special task. Normally, his career is a long series of short jobs for different employers.

Time Lost Between Jobs

Obviously, prosperity is good for the construction worker, but neither high aggregate demand nor his own determination to find work can insure him against winter shutdowns, the volume of local construction starts, the state of demand for his particular skill, and even weather conditions during the prime season, much less the winter. The smooth and rapid transition from one job to another is still a matter of luck. Along with its many specific recommendations for encouraging winter work, the Joint Study came to the conclusion that the matching of jobs and men has to be improved. Indeed, a chronic problem for construction planners has always been to know what was going on in construction at any particular time in any particular place. In light of the patterns of faulty use of manpower, such local information is not merely helpful but imperative.

One of the least debatable aspects of winter work is its technical feasibility.

Cold weather construction can take place anywhere it is needed and there are only a few exceptional conditions. European and Canadian experience has proven this. As far as human beings are concerned, work can be performed at extreme temperatures. Warm, dry, and light clothing is available at reasonable cost and, while some fall-off in human efficiency at below zero temperatures is likely, the machine and not the man is likely to cause problems in extreme cold.

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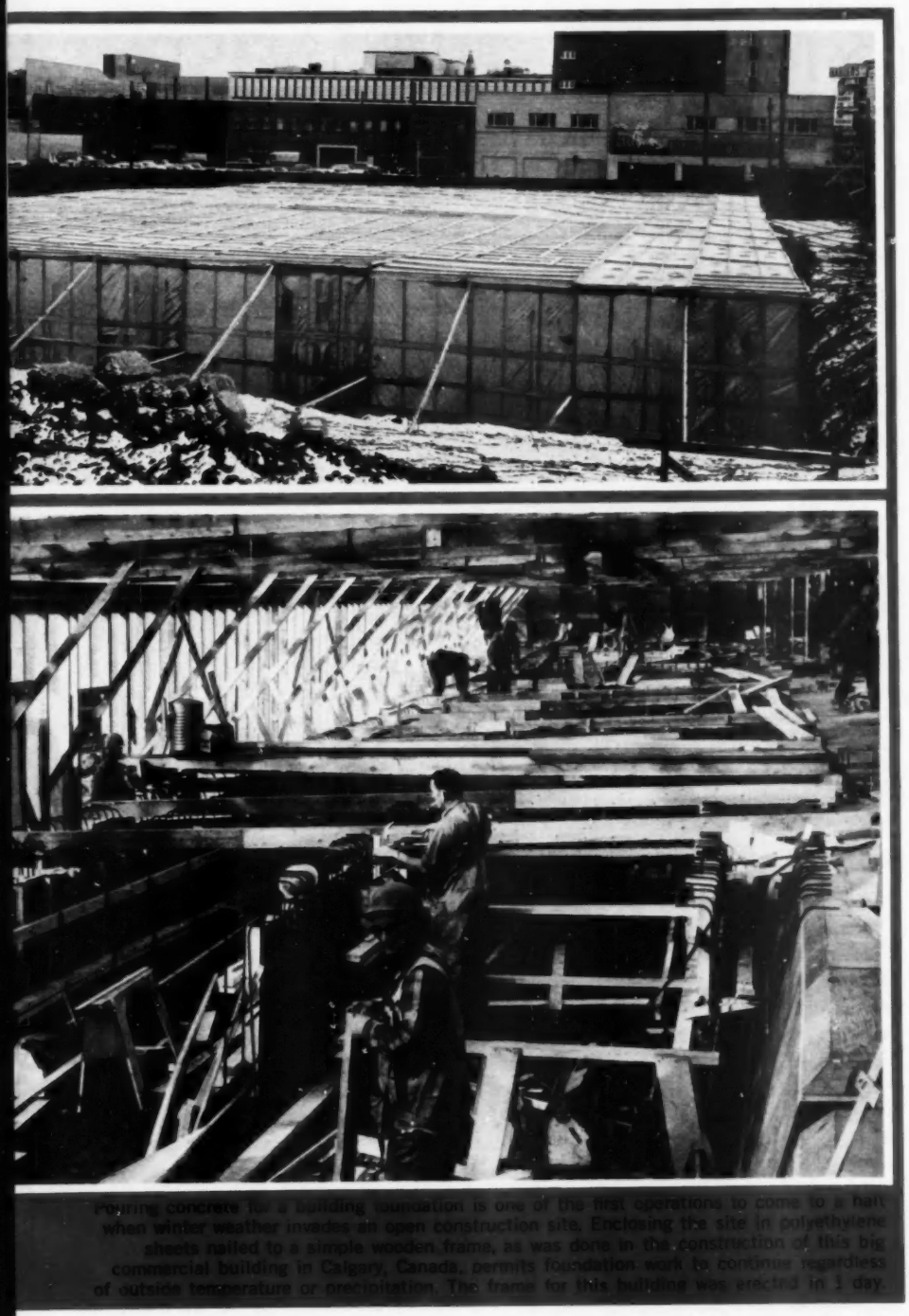

Pouring concrete for a building foundation is one of the first operations to come to a halt when winter weather invades an open construction site. Enclosing the site in polyethylene sheets nailed to a simple wooden frame, as was done in the construction of this big commercial building in Calgary, Canada, permits foundation work to continue regardless of outside temperature or precipitation. The frame for this building was erected in 1 day.

The crucial technical factors on winter work are the maintenance of certain temperature and humidity standards for certain materials, especially concrete, bituminous paving, plaster, paint, and masonry, and during such operations as earth excavation and compaction. Usually the problem is solved at reasonable cost by various means of enclosing the work and bringing temperatures up to a proper level for doing quality work. This may involve nothing more than tacking up polyethylene sheet on cheap wood framing and bringing in portable propane heaters. More elaborate means may be used, such as erecting portable air shelters which can completely enclose all but the very biggest jobs and which produce inside conditions as warm and dry as the finest summer day.

Civil engineers have steadily widened the temperature and moisture limits on certain sensitive operations. Experience has shown that it is not as crucial to keep wet concrete at a certain temperature for extended periods as was once supposed. Sure of only two things in life, a rough winter and an increasing demand for electricity, hydro-electric authorities in Canada long ago put their capital construction on a winter basis. They found that they could compress the curing time for concrete to where heating was essential only for hours and not for days, thus saving money and time without endangering quality.

The next important breakthrough will likely be in road building as engineers find that highway and street paving, an operation in which temperature is crucial, can be accomplished in low outside temperatures by a calculated manipulation of the thickness of hot layers of paving material. Virtually all States have strict regulations on how and when road building operations can be performed and Federal highway officials claim that prompt revision of these regulations occurs as new techniques are proved.

Road Building Hit Hard

At present, technological problems and State regulations combine to keep unemployment among highway construction workers extremely high in the winter; in a sense it is almost illegal to work in the winter, though a few construction companies are able to get the work done if they can work over rock or stable subsoils. Having a roadbed relatively unaffected by temperature and moisture is critically important. Road builders also have special problems keeping men and materials supplied to the site. Mud is a serious logistical obstacle, even for the most resolute, more serious perhaps than snow and ice.

The decision by contractors whether to work in the winter is crucial and often paradoxical. If a job is conceived of as a warm weather operation, construction may cease with a bad rain or freezing temperatures. The contractor has made no provision at all for working in inclement

weather and any costs he incurs in putting in some protection will be out of his pocket and off his profit.

Yet another contractor may have decided to work every day regardless of weather and will build into his bid enough money for winterizing. Once this divide is crossed, a new mentality takes over and all things are possible. On a recent television interview, Interior Secretary Walter Hickel (himself a carpenter, contractor, and veteran of many Alaskan winters) described work under polar and subpolar conditions as being "different" rather than harder than in the "southern" 49 States.

The controlling circumstance is the cost associated with keeping a job going regardless of weather. The contractor's main problem is not in knowing how to do the job but how to build into his bid a winterizing margin sufficiently high to cover his expenses, yet sufficiently low to keep his bid competitive. A contractor may well rule out a profit on a particular job in order to keep something going in slack periods. He is determined, however, to avoid that single catastrophic contract that can wipe out his business.

His only defense is to rely on his skill as an estimator, a skill largely derived from his own experience. Ordinarily he does not have a body of winter work behind him and, more important, he lacks the skill and data to make an accurate forecast of daily working conditions. It is not too difficult to estimate the amount of concrete or roofing nails or carpenter's hours or crane rental. It is quite another matter to predict daily temperature and moisture conditions or even to know what the average daily experience will be like in a given month.

The astute manager recognizes that what he lacks is some kind of realistic assurance that his extra costs can be offset by savings elsewhere. Unfortunately, the average construction firm is small and undercapitalized and the struggle to keep the business going from job to job does not allow for sophisticated cash-flow financial theories.

Companies large enough to keep a number of jobs going and even to sustain an occasional loss find it clearly advantageous to work in the winter, especially on building construction. A visit to Manhattan in January will confirm that. Usually, excavation and foundation work are performed in good weather and as the building rises it is relatively easy and cheap to keep men protected within the structure. There may even be a clear understanding between the contractor and the building's owner that the additional costs of winter work are readily offset by early delivery. With high interest rates a critical cost, the owner is understandably anxious to get his building completed so it can begin producing revenue.

Government Role Stressed

The Study Group's recommendations, which are contained in its report, *Seasonal Unemployment in the Construction Industry*,[1] emphasize actions that can be undertaken by the Federal Government. Federal Government action can be crucial not only because of the Government's size as a customer, but also because the Congress and the Administration both have decided that the public interest requires that there be an official leadership role in construction manpower policy. President Nixon, in his March 17, 1970 message on the construction industry, ordered implementation of almost all of the Study Group's recommendations.

The Study Group recommendations envisage several Government roles: Promoter of winter-building science and technology; sophisticated buyer of rationally scheduled construction; constant advocate of humane manpower policies; and counsel to the private sector by supporting liaison bodies concerned with winter work, including developing information on collective bargaining proposals aimed at employment stability.

The Study Group also recommended, as have many construction managers, that Government bids have starting and completion dates which rule out winter layoffs, thus imposing a winter cost factor on all bidders. The General Services Administration has developed a bid specification which will accomplish this. GSA concluded that good quality buildings can be constructed in winter at low cost, making these buildings ready for occupancy earlier than conventionally worked projects.

Other recommendations involving Government construction include limiting interior painting, repair, and rehabilitation of Government facilities to winter months, designating certain whole public works projects as winter programs, restricting overtime on Federal projects during peak periods, and suspending Federal projects in specific localities "having acute excess demand for labor."

The Study Group recognized the future needs of a stable work force by alluding to the sensitive areas of increased apprenticeship training and minority employment. Many construction industry leaders feel that the chronic instability of the industry contributes mightily to the hesitancy of local unions to accept new members. It also seems likely that as work opportunities expand (and annual incomes increase even if hourly rate increases diminish) the attractiveness of the industry will cause an influx of career-minded young people. Young workers correctly recognize that high hourly rates mask a certain instability and this recognition turns them away from a construction career even though the job satisfactions and challenges in construction may exceed other occupations.

Another manpower suggestion is to build a construction employment information system through cooperative arrangements among unions, contractors, and

[1] Single copies of the report are available free from the U. S. Department of Labor, Office of Information, Room 2135, Washington, D. C. 20210.

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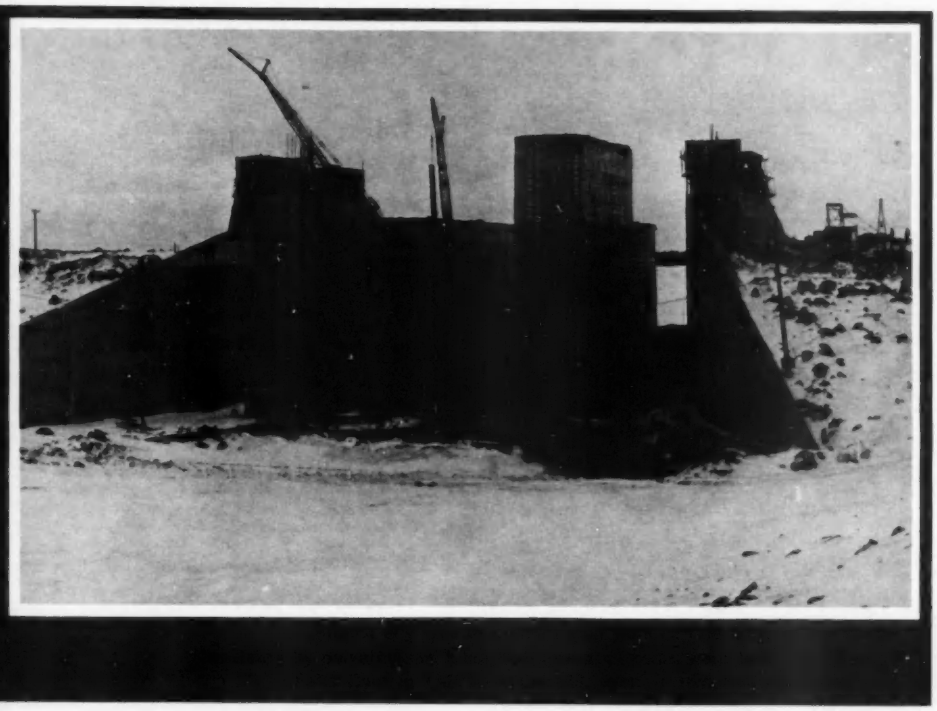


the Department of Labor. The present job-matching system is not necessarily inefficient, but it operates on primitive data. The Study Group concluded that manpower considerations should be an integral part of the planning of construction activities, and that a cooperative, perhaps computer-assisted, job matching system would be mutually beneficial.

Finally, one of the most intriguing recommendations is the need to explore the complex area of financial incentives for winter work. Programs of this sort are not new in other industrialized countries where the direct and indirect "social" benefits of working in the winter are deemed more than enough to offset the direct subsidies and other incentives necessary to get work started. Northern European countries have found it economically unsound and politically risky not to act and spend on behalf of winter work.

In the United States, however, subsidy programs often are criticized as combinations of vanished purpose and special interest. Indeed, the native wisdom holds that the only way to stop a subsidy is not to start one. Nevertheless, the realities of the U.S. economy dictate that private decisions hinge on private returns and that when one course of action promises a bigger or safer return, that course will be chosen.

If Government decides to weigh in on the side of stable employment, and it seems that it has, the next step is to find out how the public interest can be served in all construction situations, not just those involving public money. We must devise means to make winter work a reasonably competitive alternative, and yet not use public money for something that is going to take place anyway. There are many possibilities to be considered in the Federal tax system or perhaps through Federal expenditures.

The past decade in manpower research seemed to open with the belief that society could find a vaccine against unemployment. That belief stemmed from the myth that unemployment resulted from one or two major causes. Now we are not so sure and we are increasingly apt to use the fine blade and eye of the surgeon to treat the many varieties of joblessness. Unemployment research findings in the case of the construction industry still are not fully definitive, but they are much improved.

What we used to call "seasonal unemployment" is really a combination of three classic types of unemployment: Cyclical, structural, and frictional. The level of construction volume can lengthen or shorten the season; the patterns of doing business affect innovation and risk-taking and thus the propensity of the industry to work in the winter; and the nature of the employment contract greatly affects job-changing and mobility. Such analysis leads to a complex program logic and to some extent results in frustration from the inability to find a single solution. There is no single solution and no single price to pay, but the problem has been measured and evaluated and a set of practical alternatives is now available.

Industry Wants Solution

Those who worked on the seasonal unemployment problem became convinced that construction people want the problem solved. Perhaps the best description came from Charles Velardo, a successful Massachusetts masonry contractor and a crusader for winter work. Before a congressional subcommittee he described how his father, a construction worker, would get up at sunrise only to come home at 8:30 or 9:00 in the morning because work had been called off for the day. Velardo, who later would have the same experience, then reflected that any man who gets up at 6:00 to do a day's work ought to be able to do that work. When he has to come home and face his family and an empty, idle day, he feels that the skill of his hands is worth nothing.

That makes for a very bitter winter. □

BANKING ON PEOPLE

First National City Bank in New York —the bank New Yorkers know as Citibank—has assets of more than $23 billion. Nowadays, it is acquiring some new working capital, in the form of people, from New York's impoverished neighborhoods and its welfare rolls.

Two years ago the bank decided to begin drawing low-income people into special training classes and then put them to work in its lofty, glass-walled offices on Wall Street and Park Avenue and 180 branches dotting the city and its environs. This was in a Government-business partnership under the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program.

It was not the bank's first venture into the ghettos. On the theory that what is good for New York is good for Citibank, the firm had put effort and financing into education, employment, housing, and minority ownership of business in black and Puerto Rican sections of town. Propelling these activities is a basic reality of the banking business, stated recently by Norman Willard, vice president in charge of training:

"We are chartered to operate in a given area. We can't function like an apparel factory and, if life is difficult here, pull out and move to Tennessee. This is our home and we are deeply committed to it. If New York City is in trouble, Citibank is in trouble."

Like other large employers in New York, Citibank has problems filling entry-level jobs. Keeping the financial wheels of the Nation's second largest bank spinning efficiently takes an army of clerks and typists. The bank must hire some 7,500 people a year to replenish personnel losses and add to its staff of 18,000 employees (15,000 more are overseas).

A few years ago, Citibank began re-evaluating factors in successful performance of entry-level jobs. As a result, the bank has altered a number of hiring demands. School dropouts are now eligible for many posts that once required a high school diploma. Deafness is no longer a barrier to work which does not require hearing. In 1968, Citibank won an award as the State's "Employer of the Year" for hiring 100 deaf persons as typists and as operators of proof machines, which sort and code checks.

The bank has also hired Spanish-speaking people who knew little or no English, used Spanish to train them, placed them in jobs under bilingual supervisors, and taught them English in off-duty hours.

The JOBS Program, a joint effort of the National Alliance of Businessmen and the U.S. Department of Labor, gave Citibank an avenue to reach more of the underemployed and the hard-core unemployed. JOBS funding makes it possible for private firms to hire disadvantaged people and to take extra time and use special aids to help lift them from the barren culture of poverty into the demanding, modern world of work—and keep them there.

Program Started in 1968

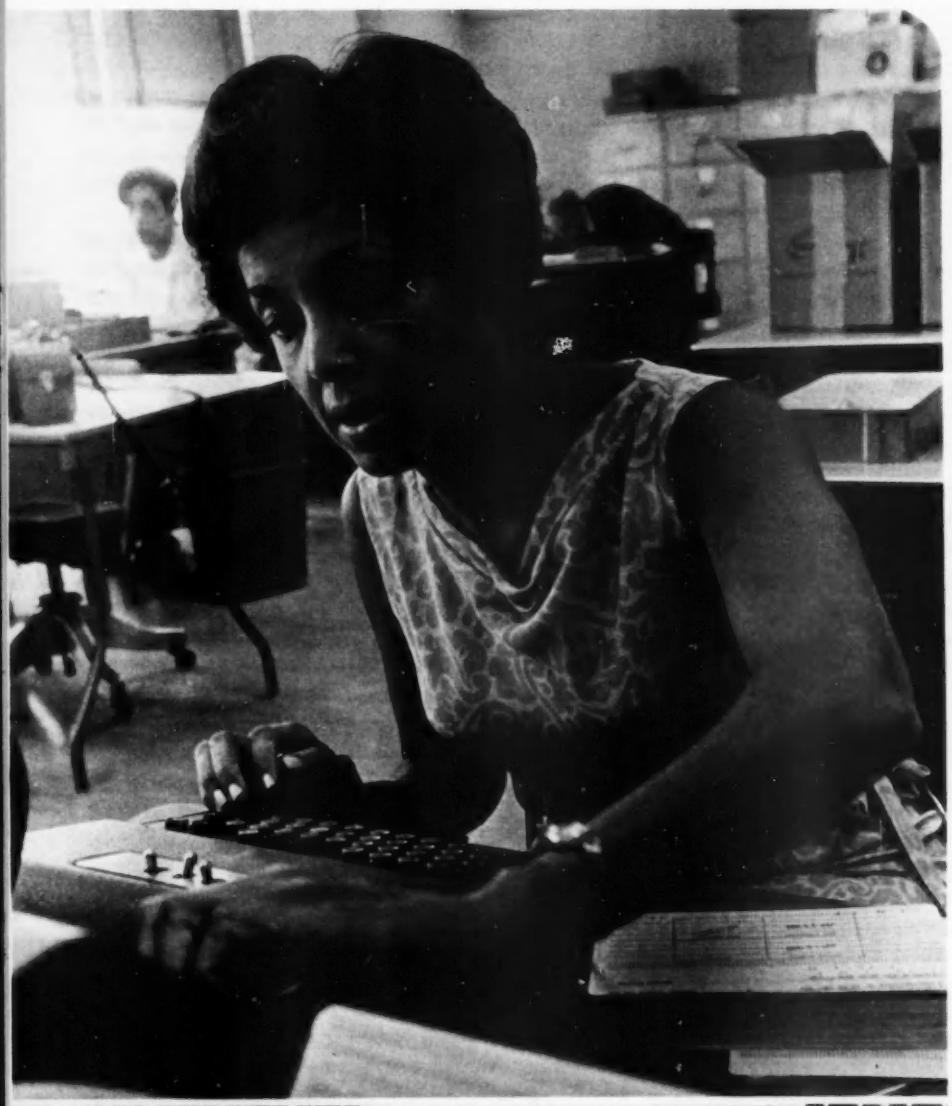
Citibank began JOBS hiring and training in July 1968 under a Manpower Administration contract. Government funds help finance the extraordinary costs of training the disadvantaged and may cover orientation and counseling (now mandatory under new JOBS guidelines), job-related education, supervisor training, child care, transportation, and certain medical and dental care.

For training headquarters, Citibank leased the second and third floors of a former Chinese nightclub on Canal Street, a short subway ride from the bank's midtown offices. Sixteen thousand square feet were air-conditioned and refurbished as classrooms. Old night club walls have been pierced by large windows to let in light, painted in sprightly colors, lit with

James Walker quit another job to enter the bank training program because he felt it offered a better chance for advancement.

"Graduate" Sally Guzman puts her Canal Street training to use operating an office machine.

Under the guidance of instructor James Clark (standing), students practice on adding machines to improve their accuracy and speed.



fluorescent tubes, and hung with paintings, posters, and lesson instructions.

In three JOBS contracts, Citibank has undertaken to hire and train a total of 1,480 persons at a cost to the Government of $3.1 million, an average of $2,150 per trainee. The Government does not pay all program expenses. Citibank bears its normal hiring and training costs and bank officials estimate that the firm also incurs nonrecoverable administration and service costs amounting to about 10 percent of the Government input. Two Citibank JOBS contracts have been for 24 months, and one has been for 18 months. Costs incurred by the bank in the Canal Street "vestibule" training period are reimbursed over the entire period of the contracts.

As under all JOBS contracts, Citibank's disadvantaged employees are hired first and then trained. Their entry pay, which is stipulated in the contract between the bank and the Manpower Administration, was recently raised from $65 to $70 a week.

Entering a Strange World

The disadvantaged who arrive on Canal Street usually have learned about the program from friends, through bank recruiters, at a State employment service office, or in one of the city's Concentrated Employment Programs. They must meet the bank's minimum requirement for sixth-grade reading ability since Canal Street facilities are not set up to provide long-term schooling. They cannot have been convicted of a crime of dishonesty because banking laws in effect would make them ineligible for employment. They must also be certified as disadvantaged by the State employment service.

Many of the poor entering the center's doors have never been inside a bank, and few have seen the inside of a modern office except on television. A world other people take for granted—a world of window walls, schedules, supervisors, computers, office machines, procedures, and forms—is strange and sometimes frightening. To ease the transition of the poor into employment and reach them through training and counseling, Citibank hired a staff of 27 persons who have a background of work with low-income and minority families.

Several of the staff, including director Ralph G. Roberts, came to the center

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from a manpower development program operated for a time by the Port of New York Authority. Roberts, who supervised the Port program for more than 2 years, has his undergraduate degree in education, a master's degree in business administration, and has taught in universities and high schools. Some of the instructors on his staff are licensed teachers; others have a strong background of practical experience. Those teachers who have taught in both public schools and poverty programs generally state a strong preference for the latter.

Canal Street training facilities are large enough to serve 200 people at one time in 16 to 20 weeks of basic instruction. Studies cover remedial English, remedial math, office procedures, typing, and use of the 10-key adding machine, the full-keyboard adding machine, and other office equipment. For an hour a day worker-trainees take extra work in their weakest subjects. They also take part in individual and group guidance sessions to get help in solving problems that are interfering with work.

Most of the trainees are women, less than 25 years old, and high school dropouts. Three-fourths are black, and most of the others are Puerto Rican. Nearly half were on welfare when they entered the program, and two-thirds have preschool children.

One of the welfare recipients, Mrs. Velma Jones, is head of her household and has two daughters, ages 6 and 8. She has been on welfare for 5 years. Before she began Citibank training, her welfare check was $126 every 2 weeks. When she started training—and drawing $65 a week from the bank—her welfare check dropped to $119 every 2 weeks. Even with a cut in her welfare payment, she is ahead by $123 every fortnight. This gradual phasing out of welfare as her income rises makes it good business for Mrs. Jones to go to work.

As far as Mrs. Jones is concerned, there is more incentive than money. "Being on welfare is not fun," she says. "You sit home day after day doing nothing. And I was on welfare long enough to know that I was at a standstill. You can't benefit yourself. You can only stay where you are. I wanted to do better for myself and my kids."

A high school graduate with no previous job training, Mrs. Jones' only job experience is as a domestic worker. Even this does not amount to much, she says. "It was only when I could find someone to keep my kids that I could go out and catch a couple days' work. That lasted about 6 months, when I worked 1 or 2 days a week."

She heard from friends about training programs in New York City, but because she did not know where they were located she went to a State employment service office which referred her to Citibank's training center.

Mrs. Jones' children, now in public school most of the day, are taken care of before and after school by a friend who lives nearby. And Mrs. Jones sees herself on a path leading into still greater opportunities. "The higher I can go," she says hopefully, "the higher I will try to go."

Work Skills Emphasized

There are also a few energetic young men banging away at typewriters in Citibank's classes. Two of them, James Walker and Jimmie Berry, are black high school graduates from Mississippi. Before they came to Canal Street, one had a job putting lids on cans for a chemical company and the other ran a towing machine in a soap factory. Neither thought he had much chance to advance where he was. At Citibank, they will enter white-collar employment for a large firm and believe that, with experience and further study, they will be able to get above the entry level. Walker says, "I want to set an example for my sisters and brothers at home on the farm. There are eight of them to follow me."

Emphasis in Citibank training classes is on learning work skills and not on education for education's sake. In a survey of the employee-trainees the bank found that 90 percent of them had held a job at some time but 78 percent were unemployed and 22 percent were underemployed when they came into the program. Only 19 percent had ever received skills training. To Citibank officials these results indicate that the trainees' past failures to hold onto jobs were rooted in poor preparation for work.

Canal Street not only trains these new workers—it "overtrains" them. For posts in the bank where new employees are expected to type 40 words a minute, for example, the center tries to raise skills to 45 or 50 words a minute. This tack, vice president Willard says, results in good bank acceptance of graduates because they have higher capabilities than many new workers who do not go through the training center.

Citibank's 1,000 supervisors also are prepared for worker placement in regular job slots. Initially, they are informed that the firm's board of directors, chairman, and president are deeply committed to the JOBS Program and to its success in Citibank. In sensitivity sessions they learn something of the characteristics and motivations of people who have been cut off from the mainstream of economic and social life, and the training program is described to them. Then the supervisors go in small groups to Canal Street to get acquainted with worker-trainees and staff. Occasionally, supervisors take over a center class to feed in specific knowledge of a work situation, and this helps bridge a few more gaps between supervisors and trainees.

The bank's greatest training problem is student absenteeism. Most of it is apparently caused by small difficulties that become major stumbling blocks to disadvantaged persons.

"If a JOBS trainee has a sick grandmother, she thinks she is doing something by staying home with her," Willard says. "She is, but she's not getting to work." However, absence and lateness cannot be placed in the category of "unreliability," he points out. He identifies these as symptoms of failure, not causes. Canal Street counselors attempt to get at the causes by encouraging trainees to look upon the center not only as a place to learn and work but also as a place where they can get professional help in solving their problems. This approach, Willard says, is intended to be practical and not interfering. Each incident is used as a teaching experience so that a trainee will be better able to work out similar problems by herself in the future.

The center has helped many of the new workers to enroll children in city facilities, but some have had to make their own arrangements. Day care is an allowable expense in the JOBS Program, but it is not an item in Citibank contracts. Day care by the bank would present problems because there are a large num-

ber of women with children in its JOBS Program and the children would have to be transported great distances from homes in the city's five boroughs.

Canal Street director Roberts says, "We simply don't know how to solve this problem." New York day-care services are inadequate, he says, and when his guidance staff succeeds in getting children accepted by a day-care facility the youngsters must go on a waiting list for at least 3 weeks. "When they finally get in," Roberts says, "they may be tossed out on the street at 6 o'clock whether or not anyone is there to receive them."

After completing basic courses at the training center, most students move to on-the-job training as beginning clerks. A few stay on at the center for another month of training to improve their typing or to learn operation of proof machines and other special equipment.

As employee-trainees go to regular bank stations, their salaries go up. Starting clerks are paid a minimum of $80 a week and typists from $85 to $95, depending on their skills.

The dropout rate for the training program has been less than 40 percent, lower than bank officials had anticipated. Current bank turnover is about 34 percent a year, a figure that represents not only entry-level but also other employees.

One interesting facet of Citibank's efforts under JOBS is how much the institution itself has learned in what Willard calls "the laboratory for the disadvantaged" on Canal Street. "In our JOBS training center, we discovered some ways to make direct, frontal attacks on many employee problems," he says. "We offer people who work for us help in the nonwork portions of their lives, and one reason they come to work is to get solutions.

"It is now obvious that, in the past, institutions had blinders on in respect to their workers and the nature of the institutional commitment to them. Today companies need workers. They can no longer afford to simply reject those who have bad work habits. We must find ways to help all individuals become better employees."

Upgrading Help Offered

The bank policy committee has approved hiring five counselors to serve regular employees. The new staff, like that on Canal Street, will have experience working with the disadvantaged and with city agencies. "We are not going to give psychotherapy or build a paternalistic system," Willard says. "This professional staff will serve as liaison between employees and the outside world in the solution of practical domestic problems. If an employee is about to be evicted from a condemned building and has no place to go, or if someone is worried about medical care for a member of his family, counselors may help find shortcuts to solutions because they know agency procedures and services. Bank counselors will also have a lot more impact than individuals."

Willard remarked that if counseling can reduce by only a small amount absenteeism and tardiness in the bank—costly problems that are a major cause of discharges—the service will pay for itself.

Citibank, Willard says, has no intention of dooming its newly hired disadvantaged employees to a working lifetime in entry-level jobs. "We must insure against establishing a ghetto within the bank," he said. "We are committed to the philosophy that openings above entry level cannot be filled from the outside when we have employees who can qualify for them."

To help the disadvantaged, as well as its other employees, move up to better jobs, the bank offers a vast array of personal development opportunities through training at all levels of employment. A 60-page catalog of courses offers a selection covering nearly every bank activity, and a tuition refund plan is available to encourage employees "to invest in themselves, to study and train to help their career development." Course offerings include training in office skills, basic instruction for potential supervisors, computer instruction, safe deposit management, teller functions, communications for supervisors, report writing, and other studies all the way up to an international banking seminar and courses in money and capital markets for bank officers. This extensive training program is under the supervision of Willard, a Ph. D. and psychologist who was director of research for the human resources office of George Washington University prior to coming to the bank.

Recently Citibank began reevaluating its criteria for supervisory positions. "We began to think our existing system was no longer completely valid," Willard says. "Hopefully, our findings will lead us into opening greater opportunities for upward mobility to disadvantaged people who are talented and motivated."

Willard says Citibank probably will take advantage of a new option open to JOBS contractors that permits them to use Government training funds to upgrade their employees. Under the option, a contractor may upgrade five workers for every 10 disadvantaged persons he hires for entry-level jobs. □

Typing instructor Maxine Benns, a former public school teacher, works with Gloria Jackson.

City Jobs: Rich Potential For the Poor

By Lawrence A. Williams

City governments in the past have been major employers of the untrained and uneducated in the United States. Employment in city government constituted one of the primary methods by which immigrants and members of minority groups were assimilated into the social fabric of the Nation. Beginning in the late 19th century, however, cities gradually ceased to perform this function, in large part because of the movement for civil service and governmental reform. Since the depression of the 1930's Federal and State governments have assumed more and more responsibility for helping the poor and unemployed get productive employment. But despite a variety of efforts, today every major city in the Nation has a sizable minority of economically deprived and socially segregated citizens.

Paradoxically, while unemployment and underemployment have remained unresolved problems, the Nation's cities have long been faced with severe manpower shortages. In 1962, the Municipal Manpower Commission pointed up the serious shortages of administrative, professional, and technical personnel in municipal government; the increasingly stiffer competition from the private sector for such personnel; and the relative decline of college graduates entering the various professions found in municipal government. In 1966, the President's Commission on Technology, Administration, and Economic Progress estimated that there was a need for up to 5 million workers in the human services. The shortage of technically trained personnel—automotive mechanics, computer programers, construction code inspectors, laboratory technicians, and water and sewer treatment operators—is equally great.

A survey conducted by the United States Conference of Mayors among the mayors of 50 cities having 100,000 or more inhabitants indicated additional job possibilities in all public service fields. On the basis of this survey, Harold L. Sheppard estimated in a W. E. Upjohn Institute report entitled *The Nature of the Job Problem and the Role of New Public Service Employment* that there were nearly 280,000 job possibilities in the 130 cities having 100,000 or more residents.

The possibility of simultaneously achieving at least a partial solution to the problems of both municipal manpower shortages and ghetto unemployment first received widespread attention in 1965 with the publication of a book by Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman entitled New Careers for the Poor. The New Careers concept, as proposed by Pearl and Riessman, is an anti-poverty strategy based upon two assumptions. The first is that a career is different from a job—the difference being that a career implies not only permanence, but the opportunity for upward mobility. The second is that the level of services now being provided by local jurisdictions is inadequate to meet citizen needs and, that by expanding services and restructuring job qualifications and tasks, both the needs of citizens for services and the needs of the deprived for career employment can be met.

Officials in several cities—including Detroit, New York, and San Francisco—were attracted immediately to the New Careers concept. New Careers projects train and place the disadvantaged in professional aide jobs with built-in career ladders in governmental and nonprofit human service agencies. However, although studied and recommended, no real efforts were made to use this approach until 1966, when a New Careers component was incorporated into the Economic Opportunity Act and Federal funding became available.

Little In-Service Training Offered

This should not be surprising. Although virtually all major cities operate job opportunity programs, with few exceptions they are designed to provide only job experience in basic, unskilled positions, particularly for the young, rather than training for jobs with career opportunities. Cities, long underfinanced because of State legislative restrictions on their taxing authority, have always plowed revenue increments into overdue salary increases, much needed capital improvements, and citizen-requested expanded services. They have seldom undertaken in-service or promotional training programs, let alone extensive remedial training programs for the poor.

A 1967 report by the National League of Cities entitled *Catalog of Training Courses for Local Government Personnel* identified and described a total of fewer than 4,700 in-service training courses for officials and employees of cities, townships, counties, and special districts and for noninstructional employees of school districts. Of this number, almost 40 percent were courses for police and firemen.

Local government interest in new manpower programs caused the National League of Cities in 1968 to undertake, in cooperation with the Manpower Administration, a study of (1) the efforts of cities to develop programs that provide career employment and training opportunities in the competitive municipal service for those who cannot meet

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Mr. Williams is staff director of the Urban Research and Metropolitan Community Services Group Project for the National League of Cities. This article is based on a research report prepared by him, Floyd A. Decker, and Andrew B. Horgan, III, under contract with the Manpower Administration. The full report, *Municipal Government Efforts to Provide Greater Career Employment Opportunities for the Disadvantaged*, is available from the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, Springfield, Va. 22151, for $3 for a paper copy and 65 cents for microfiche.

the traditional entrance requirements; (2) the impact of such programs on the performance of municipal services; and (3) the manner in which such programs could be effectively carried out. Studies conducted in the summer of 1968 in Dayton, Detroit, El Paso, New York, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C., show the limited extent to which these cities have committed local resources to the development of innovative employment and training programs for the disadvantaged.

Only in New York City was it possible to identify any substantial municipally initiated and funded career oriented programs for the deprived and undereducated. However, all six cities surveyed used one or more of the numerous new and expanded federally funded manpower programs as mechanisms for recruiting, selecting, and training deprived urban residents for paraprofessional and career employment in municipal government. Dayton, Detroit, New York, San Francisco, and Washington used the New Careers Program in conjunction with other Federal programs. El Paso relied exclusively upon the Neighborhood Youth Corps program, which was not designed for this purpose. The conclusions and recommendations presented in this article are based on the case studies made in these six cities.

Federal manpower programs, although they are usually the best options available, have certain deficiencies from a municipal point of view. First, they are an uncertain source of funds for the establishment of projects of more than 1 year's duration. Second, most Federal manpower programs of use to cities have been controlled by community action agencies that are usually staffed by people lacking experience in municipal government and exhibiting an anti-city hall bias. Third, Federal programs in the past have had little experience in training and upgrading low-level municipal employees. And fourth, the programs usually are undertaken with great promises, but the funding levels are so low that the number of jobs created is too small to have any impact on unemployment or municipal manpower shortages. As a consequence, high expectations are generated, but usually left unfulfilled.

Three major problems were encountered in all of the study cities attempting to establish New Careers Programs: Inadequate planning time, inadequate funding, and programmatic constraints limiting the type of New Careers positions that could be created.

Planning personnel said the time allotted for preliminary planning and job development was inadequate. As a consequence, they were forced to rush through some planning tasks and to delay others. Many planning operations—particularly job development—thus were pushed backward into the operational phases of the projects. Job descriptions and development of career ladders seldom were completed before the beginning of the New Careers projects.

When the program began in Dayton, for example, only 4 of the 11 New Careers classes of positions were directly linked to previously existing entry-level jobs. In Detroit, no career ladders had been formally established. And in San Francisco, promotional ladders for the four New Careers classes were incomplete or only tentatively identified. Lack of experience in city government was cited as a factor inhibiting job development in Detroit, but in San Francisco there was no lack of experience because job development was the responsibility of city Personnel Department staff.

Inadequate funding limited the number of the New Careers participants in all cities surveyed. City officials repeatedly pointed out that original plans called for substantially more New Careers positions than could be established with available Federal funds, and they stated further that all programs could be expanded if additional funding were available.

Programmatic restrictions limiting the fields in which New Careers positions could be created seriously impaired effectiveness of the programs. The stated purpose of the New Careers legislation was "to improve the physical, social, economic, or cultural conditions of the community . . . in fields including, but not limited to, health, education, welfare, neighborhood redevelopment, and public safety." Department of Labor standards and procedures, published in April 1967, explicitly stated that a " . . . major objective of this program is to contribute to and facilitate the process of designing and creating New Careers jobs in public service. . . ."

Yet in each of the five cities with New Careers projects, the local community action agency, which served as the local prime contractor, construed "public service" to mean "human service" and limited New Careers positions specifically to those fields enumerated in the Act. This interpretation prevented the establishment of New Careers positions in a number of important fields in which cities have critical manpower shortages, including engineering, public works, and water and sewage treatment.

High Trainee Retention Rate Cited

Elimination of New Careers positions from such fields was unfortunate, not only because of the effect on municipal manpower needs, but because classes of positions in these fields can be readily appended to established career ladders. Also, the human services fields are not those in which men have traditionally found employment. Programs designed to provide career employment for men should contribute to reestablishing the family as a social unit among poor, black slum dwellers.

The New Careers Programs had been in operation only a short time when the survey was conducted, yet certain conclusions were readily apparent. First, it is evident, on the basis of funding alone, that the program cannot reduce significantly municipal manpower shortages. When the survey was taken there were only 1,273 authorized New Careers positions in the five cities studied that had the program in operation. Today, there are about 8,000 persons in New Careers training nationwide, an insignificant number in relation to municipal manpower needs.

Second, New Careers type programs can improve the content and delivery of municipal services. Where substantial numbers of New Careerists were concentrated in one agency, as was done in New York, or where small numbers were assigned to single units within agencies, as in Detroit and San Francisco, professional staffs were able to spend less time on routine clerical and administrative duties and noticeable improvements in the delivery of services occurred. Because they were assigned light caseloads, New Careerists in New York

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and San Francisco were able to give more personalized assistance to welfare clients than could be provided by overworked professionals. Officials in both Detroit and San Francisco reported that use of New Careerists improved agency-client relations.

Third, the reactions of municipal department heads, supervisory personnel, and regular employees toward New Careerists was mixed. As might have been expected, some trainees did not fit into the offices to which they had been assigned, often were late for work, and had poor general work habits. However, most supervisors and employees expressed satisfaction with the attitude and performance of enrollees. Officials and employees voiced greatest concern during early stages of operations that the New Careers project (and the Neighborhood Youth Corps) were only creating "charity jobs" that would not contribute to the effective performance of departmental functions. Such initial concerns were generally eliminated by acceptable levels of performance by participants in both programs.

Fourth, New Careers projects—as well as the Neighborhood Youth Corps—appeared to have a positive impact upon trainees. This was reflected in raised hopes, expectations, and ambitions, and by relatively high retention rates among New Careerists. The New Careers turnover rate of 15 percent in New York and 5 percent in San Francisco is much lower than for regular municipal employees.

Implementation of a New Careers type program requires little organizational restructuring within the city administration, but it does require a philosophical reorientation and commitment by city officials, department heads, and personnel department staff. For example, no longer can personnel departments be concerned solely with getting only the most qualified applicants. Some cities need to alter established civil service provisions, and minor changes usually are required in administrative regulations. A provision almost always requiring change is one automatically barring from employment persons convicted of a misdemeanor or felony. Conviction should not automatically disqualify job applicants; each case should be examined on its own merits.

Analysis of the programs in the six cities studied points up six basic principles for the establishment of an effective city career opportunity program for residents of deprived urban neighborhoods:

- Political and executive leadership and support is essential for expeditious planning, developing, and administering of innovative programs that require the full cooperation of department heads and supervisors.
- Preliminary planning, job development, and program administration should be the responsibility of an agency knowledgeable about municipal government operations and manpower needs, and a staff experienced in personnel administration and position classification. Such an agency might be either a municipal personnel department or a manpower administration located within the mayor's office and staffed by regular municipal employees.
- Participants in the preliminary planning and job development processes should include representatives of the mayor's office, personnel department (and civil service commission if it is a separate agency), participating operating departments, employee unions, State employment service, and the educational system.
- All municipal agencies should be examined to determine the feasibility of establishing career employment opportunities for the disadvantaged.
- Entry-level positions should be within the municipal classified service and must be realistically linked to a career ladder.
- All program planning and development should be completed before program operations begin.

Each of the six cities covered in the League's study achieved certain notable successes. But to optimize the usefulness of the New Careers approach, both as a program for providing career employment for the disadvantaged and as a mechanism for improving the delivery of municipal services, certain programmatic changes should be made.

First, the program should be made applicable to all local government services. Second, planning grants should be available so experienced city personnel can devote full time to preliminary planning and job development. Third, responsibility for administering the program should be vested in the city administration by designating the city as the prime contractor. Fourth, the program should be modified to provide for upgrading and career advancement of able city employees now performing low-level tasks. And fifth, the size of the program should be greatly expanded by increased Federal funding.

It should be noted that some of these recommendations have been incorporated in the Manpower Administration's new Public Service Careers Program.

The New Careers concept, if adequately funded and if made applicable to all local government services, could help cities meet at least some of their manpower needs. It must be recognized, however, that a city's primary function is to provide services for its residents, not to serve as an employer of last resort. Consequently, acceptance of the New Careers concept by local jurisdictions, whose support is essential to the program's success, will depend primarily on its ability to help them meet their service responsibilities. □

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training unpolluters

On June 22 last year, a fire in Cleveland burned two railroad bridges, melted the tracks, and caused $50,000 in damage before firemen put it out. What made it unusual was that the blaze started in a river. The Cuyahoga is so fouled with oil and other flammable material that it is called "the only river in the world that is a fire hazard."

"It's a funny thing," said a Cleveland PLAIN DEALER reporter, "if you don't live in Cleveland."

The signs today are that the humor of it is lost on people outside Cleveland as well. For what has happened to the Cuyahoga is an extreme example of what is happening elsewhere. "Virtually every stream, river, lake, and estuary in the country is polluted to some degree," according to the National Wildlife Federation. "The Great Lakes are becoming dirtier every year. . . . The once great commercial and sport fishing industry in Lake Erie is dead, and recent DDT threats to Lake Michigan foretell the same fate for it."

The Federal Water Pollution Control Administration (FWPCA) estimated 2 years ago that only 55 percent of the Nation's population lived in areas where sewage treatment was adequate.

The public, the business community, and the Federal and State governments have given ample evidence of their mounting concern over water pollution. A recent FORTUNE Magazine poll of 270 chief executives of the Nation's largest corporation showed that 57 percent want the Federal Government to step up regulatory activities in water pollution.

Between 1964 and the spring of 1969, statewide ballots in nine States were taken on water pollution control bond issues. Seven were approved and the other two attracted majority voter support. The total "yes" vote was 11,725,444, or 66 percent of the 17,625,254 ballots cast.

California last year completed the first major revision of its State water quality laws in 20 years. It provides for fines of up to $6,000 a day for violations, improves enforcement procedures, and requires violators to pay cleanup costs.

President Nixon, in his February 10, 1970 message to Congress, asked for more stringent control of water pollution by cities and industries, and fines up to $10,000 per day for offenders.

The Federal Government already has programs in operation to help train manpower to battle water pollution. Among these is a new 44-week training course worked out by the Departments of Labor, Interior, and Health, Education, and Welfare for waste water treatment plant operators. Training for more than 1,900 operators was funded in fiscal 1969 and this number is expected to rise 2,900 in 1970.

Cleansing water is a complex job because pollution has become so complex. The major contaminants are bacteria and

1) Gerald D. Healy, Jr., (standing, white shirt), instructor at the Kenner Sewage District Plant in New Orleans, discusses a classroom problem with trainees (clockwise from Healy) Andy T. Faust, Charles C. Campbell, David Bowman, Robert G. Rushing, and Marion L. Caldwell.

2) Trainees John C. Thomas (left), Rushing, and Bowman get a lesson from Healy in reading a p meter, a device used to tell whether raw sewag and sludge is acid or alkaline.

3) New Orleans trainees are taught to use a titrat which measures chlorine residual in water sam

4) Rushing and Bowman use a color comparator to check the chlorine content of a water sample.

Labor Dept. photos by Robert Moeser.

viruses, pesticides and weed killers, sewage, fertilizers and animal wastes, trace amounts of metals, acid from strip mining, chemicals and drugs, and heat. The Public Health Service lists 51 contaminants or characteristics of water supplies that should be controlled.

Pouring from municipal sewers and industrial outlets, or washed down by storm water, these contaminants trigger a process that kills the oxygen in the receiving rivers and lakes faster than it can be restored by nature.

Adding to the difficulty is the sheer volume of water required in the U.S. Americans use 387 billion gallons of water per day, according to the FWPCA, and this figure will rise to 494 billion in 1980. Each American now uses four times as much water as did his 1900 counterpart, and industrial use is now at 202 billion gallons daily, 13 times more than in 1900.

Skilled Manpower Short

Despite Federal and other efforts already underway, the shortage of trained manpower remains a troublesome problem that will have to be overcome as the national attack on water pollution accelerates. Total manpower needs are not large when spread out over the national scene, but they are complicated by the fact that cleaning up dirty water requires a high degree of skill. Training and education programs to date have been inadequate. "In small communities, the guy who runs the treatment plant also has to run the snow plow in winter and cut the courthouse grass in summer," said one FWPCA top official. The Public Administration Service, a private consulting firm, noted 2 years ago that "Pennsylvania has over 200 schools with small plants, usually operated by the janitor." As a consequence, too many facilities operate at low efficiency levels.

Experts have attacked the false economy involved in putting undertrained low-paid employees in charge of expensive modern water-cleaning machinery. "I cannot see the logic of building a half-million dollar treatment plant and hiring a man with absolutely no qualifications to operate it at $5,000 a year," the director of New York State's Erie County Division of Environmental Health, told a congressional committee. "The $3,500 a year saved on an operator can result in 10

times that in extra maintenance costs."

The total manpower in the country involved in treating waste water, in both the public and private sector, was 11,300 professionals (about half of them engineers), 10,300 technicians, 23,500 sewage treatment plant operators, and 50,000 operator assistants and maintenance workers, the FWPCA reported to Congress in August 1967. By 1972, the FWPCA said, the need for professionals would rise 219 percent to 36,000, for technicians 225 percent to 33,500, and for operators 80 percent to 42,000. (No estimate was made on assistants and maintenance personnel.)

Today, however, the FWPCA reports that these estimates were highly conservative—by as much as 50 percent in some categories. Among the factors that threw the estimates off was industry's practice of using personnel for other tasks than sewage treatment. The professional engineer in a factory in charge of purifying sewer wastes may also double as chief of the power plant.

Lively Competition Seen

But the figures, even though understated, do indicate that competition is likely to be lively for the available manpower as government and business race to meet their needs in the next few years. Engineers, other professionals, and technicians are always in short supply, and while the shortage of sewage treatment plant operators is less drastic, "the skill levels of many . . . are unsatisfactory," the FWPCA believes. Federal and private employers will do all right, pollution officials feel, because of their generally higher pay rates. But States and municipalities may suffer.

A survey made by the National Society for Professional Engineers last year among 32,000 of its members bears out this view, at least on the professional level. The overall salary median was $16,490 annually. Above this figure was median pay for engineers in the Federal service ($16,730), industry ($16,440), consulting firms ($17,890), and construction ($19,000). Below it were county and municipal engineers ($15,280), and State ($14,580).

There is some evidence, however, that on the nonprofessional level cities are becoming more competitive with industry, thanks to recent pay increases. Sewage treatment operators in Cincinnati, for example, have received boosts of up to $1,000 in the past 3 years, depending on classification. As a result, a noncertified beginner starts at $6,400 and can work his way up to a Class 4 certified operator earning $10,000. The Ford Motor Company at its plant in nearby Sharonville pays sewage disposal employees a flat $3.72 an hour, or about $7,700 annually.

A look at the type of manpower needed for water pollution control and how it is trained and recruited can throw some light on what may be needed to forestall serious shortages. About one-half the professionals in the trade are chemical, mechanical, and sanitary engineers. The rest are biologists, oceanographers, chemists, economists, and public administrators. All require college educations and they may be drawn into pollution work from other fields. Many sanitary engineers, for example, earn bachelor's degrees in civil engineering and then return to school for an extra year for a master's in sanitary engineering.

Technicians are employed in a variety of tasks. Some collect and prepare water and biological samples for laboratory examination. Others perform routine lab exams or help professionals with more complex analyses. Drafting, data processing, computer programing, and repair and maintenance of equipment are also classified as technicians' jobs. Technicians generally are recruited from technical-vocational schools and junior colleges, or from other trades.

The training and recruitment of waste treatment plant operators is haphazard in the extreme. Standards vary from State to State, both in educational requirements and in training. Some plants will hire men with only an eighth grade education but with a knack for mechanical work and let them advance through experience and on-the-job training. Others require a man with college training for top treatment plant jobs.

"It's a question of semantics," said William G. Hamlin, manager of field services for the American Society of Civil Engineers. "Waste treatment plant operator is a term used for a scientist or engineer, and for a common laborer who took a short State training course. Basically in large municipalities you need a professional who understands the very complicated waste treatment system and he has to have large numbers of men working under him. In a small community of 1,500 you have an operator and a laborer, and employ a consulting engineer to oversee the operation."

Until recently, the main tool for preparing operators for treatment plant work, other than on-the-job training, has been short State training courses. These range from 1 to 2 days up to 5 weeks; the States usually make the courses available through a college or vocational school and invite cities to send their men for training and instruction.

Certification Advocated

Forty-four States had such training in 1968, according to the Water Pollution Control Federation (WPCF), a professional association of people interested in water pollution problems. They provided at least 100 courses and 306 actual programs of instruction, attended by more than 16,000 people. The average course lasted 31 hours. The weakness of these programs is that they often fail to reach the people who need them most, the small plant operators.

"Most States find that their voluntary programs reach a maximum of 45 to 50 percent of the eligible plant operators," the Public Administration Service reported 2 years ago. "Smaller towns, for the most part, never become involved, either because they are not cognizant of the benefits or because they have only one operator and he cannot leave the plant for any length of time."

Some States get around this barrier by taking the training to the operators. The Engineering Extension Service of Texas A & M University holds up to 80 short school sessions throughout the State annually. They last 2 weeks with students meeting for 2½ hours 4 nights a week.

Professionals and technicians as well as operators attend State short-course schools. The FWPCA noted that nationwide in 1968 some 23 percent of the courses offered instruction in administration, and only one-third were identified as practical in-plant instruction.

With professionals and technicians in short supply and with so many operators badly trained, what can be done to as-

sure the most effective use of the waste water treatment facilities now in place and the new plants that will be built in the years ahead? The answer is coming down to this: Upgrade the nonprofessional, nontechnician waste water treatment plant operator. This can be done in two ways, according to experts: By certification and by intensive training.

The WPCF for years has been a leading advocate of both methods, and has taken a particularly strong role in promoting certification. "It is the knowledgeable and skilled maintenance and operation of waste water systems that will ultimately determine the success of our national pollution control effort," says Heinz B. Russelmann, task force chairman of the Federation's Personnel Advancement Committee. The Federation, jointly with the American Water Works Association and the Conference of State Sanitary Engineers, has drawn up a model law and regulations for mandatory certification of operators, and has pushed for its adoption throughout the United States.

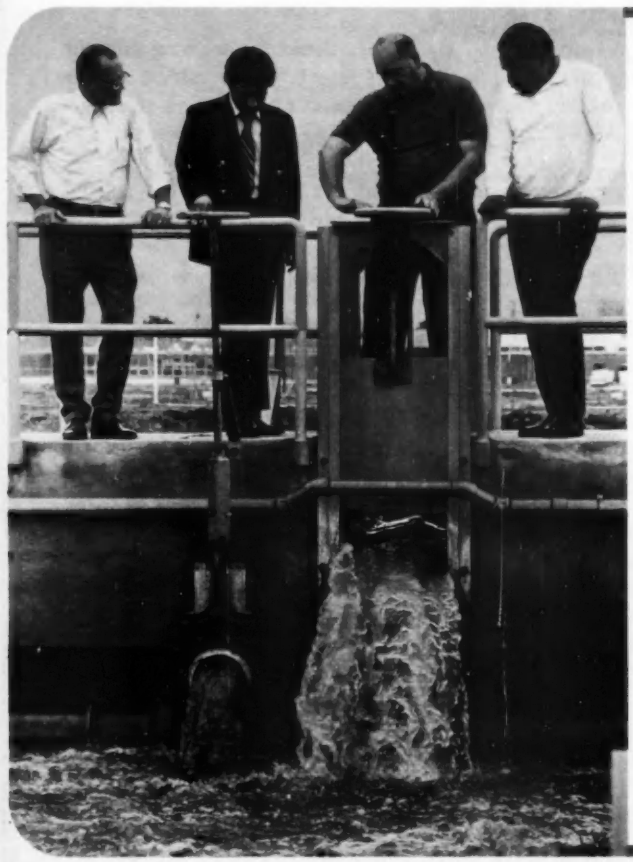
This campaign is paying dividends. In 1969 alone, six States adopted mandatory certification, bringing the number to 23. All but three States now have some form of certification, voluntary or mandatory, sponsored either by the State or by a member association of the Federation.

The Administration has thrown its support to certification. President Nixon in his February 10 message announced that in the future "federally assisted treatment plants will be required . . . to be operated only by State-certified operators." Under certain conditions the Federal Government funds up to 55 percent of the construction costs of a municipal or county treatment facility. From the inception of this program in July 1956 to January 31, 1970, the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration and its predecessor agency had invested $1.3 billion in 9,331 projects; spending in this area in fiscal 1969 alone was nearly $212 million. This sum will escalate sharply in the coming years. The total FWPCA construction appropriation in 1969 was $214 million; in 1970 it is $800 million.

The FWPCA has been moving on a broad front to ensure better training for waste water treatment personnel. It has expanded the short-course training programs for professionals and subprofessionals which have been offered at the Robert A. Taft Sanitary Engineering Center in Cincinnati. Similar courses are now offered at Federal water pollution control laboratories in five other locations. Thirty different courses lasting up to 2 weeks are offered annually and about 1,500 people will attend this year. It also makes money available to universities for instructing faculty and students in water pollution; in fiscal 1969, nearly $4 million was awarded 76 schools for research fellowships, and for professional and technical training grants for nearly 1,000 people.

But these efforts are subordinate today to the agency's innovative new 44-week training program aimed directly at converting ordinary workmen into certified treatment plant operators. The curriculum was worked out in cooperation with the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and the program is funded through the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA).

Under a national contract approved last year some 940 people in 28 communities, most of whom were already



Upgrading trainee John C. Thomas opens a slide gate used to control the flow of raw sewage into an aeration tank. Looking on are trainees (from left) Robert J. Morvant, Marion L. Caldwell, and Michael T. Davillier, Sr.

Clean, clear water improves the scenery —and the fishing.

working in municipal or county plants, are now being trained at a cost of $1,031,000. MDTA-funded State programs to train another 981 persons were also approved last year at a cost of $1,161,555 through the Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System (CAMPS). The CAMPS target for fiscal 1970 is more than $2.5 million to train another 2,900 operators.

The year-old national program has had a good measure of success. Less than 50 men have dropped out so far, and more than 900 are still in training or have graduated. The 44-week program calls for 320 hours of classroom instruction including basic education and training-related courses. This is supplemented by 11 weeks of combined classroom and on-the-job training, and in the final weeks by straight on-the-job training. Each man is entitled to 70 hours of individual on-the-job training by an instructor. (These national guidelines also apply to the State MDTA programs generally, but have been adapted in some cases to local conditions.) Nearly all the trainees work for public employers, though in Gary, Ind., 10 private plant operators whose facilities discharge waste water into Lake Michigan were admitted.

Training Program Outlined

Classroom subjects include basic math, communications, chemistry, biology, physics, measurement, and drafting. The trainees also learn how to operate the equipment in a modern sewage treatment plant, and how to clean waste water, chemically and mechanically.

In St. Louis, 18 men being trained for jobs with the Metropolitan Sewer District are scheduled to complete the program this month. Unlike the other projects, most of the St. Louis trainees were new hires. To make up for their lack of knowledge of plant operations, their classroom instruction was increased to 335 hours. And of the 23 trainees, five quit or were fired, a higher dropout rate than normal. Otherwise, the St. Louis program is fairly typical of the others being conducted throughout the Nation.

The trainees range from 19 to 54 years of age; eight are over 40. One man, 23, with a wife and child to support, had been unemployed 48 weeks when recruited through the State employment service. He finished the course 3 months early.

The men began their training as local civil service employees officially classified by the Sewer District as apprentice treatment plant operators. Starting pay was $2.77 an hour. In November they were raised to $3.15. Minimum qualifications for each trainee were that he be a high school graduate and have 1 year's experience in mechanical work or in maintaining power equipment. But experience was allowed to count as a substitute for academic qualifications. For every 2 years of experience he had, a man was credited with 1 year of high school. Two of the trainees were not high school graduates.

A 4-week initial phase was devoted to orientation and basic instruction in math, physics, chemistry, and communications. The classes were taught by a high school teacher and a chemist, who worked part time, and the program's regular instructor, Gordon Perley. (Perley, 34, has been in the waste water treatment field for 12 years and has been a licensed stationary engineer, qualified to handle power equipment, for the past 4 years. He and other full-time instructors in other cities were taught how to teach the courses through a series of seminars held around the Nation last year under the direction of the U.S. Office of Education.)

A good deal of the instruction in the first phase was by movies and slides. The trainees also toured a number of water treatment plants and learned the fundamentals of handling chlorine.

The second phase lasted 21 weeks and the course of instruction became somewhat less tightly structured as the men spent only 1 day a week in class and 4 in on-the-job training at four different plants. They now studied their basic courses in some depth. And they learned about the tanks, pumps, meters, valves, and mixers in a treatment plant and actually performed some of the tasks in the treatment of water wastes, under the expert guidance of skilled foremen.

After the second phase they graduated from the apprentice ranks. Each was classed as an Operator I, the first step on the career ladder, was tested, and received a raise in pay.

During the third and final phase, they have been spending all 5 days a week in on-the-job training, with Perley exercising general supervision in the four plants. To reach Operator II status, each man will be required to have 1 year's experience.

One of the trainees is Walter Davis, 45, a high school dropout. Unlike most of the recruits, he was not a new hire. He had been a janitor for the St. Louis Sewer District for 2 years, earning $2.67 an hour, when he entered the program. He is now an Operator I and plans to make waste water treatment plant operation a career.

"At first you're kind of frightened, especially with the math, and with so much equipment to get acquainted with," he said. "But when you get into it, it's not as hard as you think."

Shorter Course Urged

He was not bothered by the classroom training as high school dropouts often are. "It's better than just on-the-job training, where they just explain it and you get too much to remember," he said. "We got the basic principles (in class) and when you go on the job, you know what to expect and to look for. It makes it much easier."

He said he liked the training and the work "very much." He added: "They say they're short of people in this particular trade. So it's steady work and there's no telling how far you can go. People think it's a dirty job but usually it isn't. It's got great possibilities and really looks promising for the future. Once you get the training you can get a job anywhere."

The program was deliberately designed nationally to upgrade in-plant employees like Davis. The idea was that moving such men upward out of routine jobs would help create a more flexible career ladder within local civil service structures. Moving men upward also opens entry-level jobs to the hard-core unemployed.

"It's a good thorough course," said Perley. "But 44 weeks is long and I'd like to see it shortened. We need more manpower and we need it now. I'd like to see the classes cut down from 320 hours to about 160. It's worth a try. We could use 20 to 30 more trained men right now (in the St. Louis system)." □

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GIVING SUMMER JOBS A NEW DIMENSION

By Ross Barzelay

Summer jobs for youth are fine. They enable many poor youngsters to make a badly needed contribution to the family finances. For those in less stringent financial straits, summer work keeps otherwise idle hands busy and supplies a modest amount of cash for entertainment, clothing and other wants that might go unsatisfied.

But is that enough? A few years ago General Foods decided that summer jobs could do much more. With intelligent effort, they could be a means of giving young people a truer picture of the business world. Meaningful jobs might also encourage students to remain in high school and seek a better future through a college education—especially if financial assistance were made available as an added inducement.

It was with these broader purposes in mind that General Foods initiated Operation Opportunity at its corporate headquarters in Westchester County, New York. The program complements the company's equal employment opportunity policy which has raised the percentage of minority employees throughout the organization from 6.3 percent in 1963 to 15 percent in 1969.

Operation Opportunity calls for the company to hire disadvantaged high school students for summer jobs—and to place in a reserve fund for each student $1 for every dollar he earns. Any student employee who completes high school can apply his share of the fund to any educational or vocational training expense—tuition, books, fees, room and board—at an approved institution.

Now about to enter its third year, Operation Opportunity has provided summer jobs for 104 youngsters in Westchester and some 40 more in six other company locations around the country. Even more important, it has given them the will and shown them a way to get the advanced education they need to compete successfully in an increasingly complex and demanding labor market.

Under the program, sophomores, juniors, and seniors selected from six high schools in Westchester County, New York, work for 10 weeks at the company's Westchester County facilities. Seventy students were hired in the summer of 1968 and 74 (including 40 returning for their second summer) in 1969. Some worked as clerks or research and

Mr. Barzelay is vice president and director of corporate personnel of General Foods Corporation.

engineering assistants. Others were assigned to the library or payroll department, or assisted in data processing, vending services, art and design services, duplicating, and operating telephone switchboards and tabulating equipment.

The students earned an average of more than $520 apiece each summer, and an equal amount was set aside for their future college or vocational educations. Admittedly, the $520 placed in the education fund for the average student for a single summer's work is relatively modest. The project seeks, however, to offer students an incentive to raise their aspirations and to continue in school, not to cover all costs. Some of them have responded by winning scholarships and others have sought help under one of the many federally funded aid for higher education programs. For younger students, of course, potential earnings are well above $520. Working a 35-hour week for 10 weeks at $1.60 an hour, they can earn $560 each summer and have an additional $560 held in reserve. A sophomore, working three summers can earn almost $1,700 for his escrow account.

57 Use Escrow Funds

Fifty-seven Operation Opportunity student workers already have used their educational escrow accounts to help pay college or vocational school expenses. A handful of them are attending vocational institutions, but most are in college, ranging from small community colleges to prestigious schools such as Tufts, Bradley, Sarah Lawrence, and Vassar.

The crucial issue for the youth Operation Opportunity is attempting to reach is not so much whether they can get a job, but whether the job they get will have a future. From the ranks of these youngsters come the greatest number of school dropouts; their pattern is to drift hopelessly from one menial job to another. To break this pattern takes more than a routine summer job. The job must produce an educational experience as well as a pay envelope. Part of that educational experience for disadvantaged youngsters is the opportunity to learn what the business world is all about, and in the process to shed some of the traditional hostility and suspicion of minority youth toward the business "establishment."

Certainly they get a better image of the corporate world. "I was suspicious," said a senior boy. "I thought General Foods wanted to show us off. You know, 'Look at us. Look at what we're doing for the poor kids.' I was wrong. I had a real job to do. A lot of hard work."

The hope that the program would encourage students to persevere in their jobs as well as to think optimistically about continuing their educations has been abundantly justified. In 2 years there have been few absences and students who quit did so for valid reasons. The company has fired no one. Although there has been some dissatisfaction with the pay, most students agreed that if the escrow fund had been part of their weekly wage, they would not have saved any money.

Of course, there have been other problems. Two students in 1968 had to be reassigned; they simply could not get along with other employees in the first unit to which they reported for work. They caused no further trouble after being transferred.

A more serious problem arose in 1968 when one student was found stealing. She was guilty of three separate thefts. She was required to make restitution and permitted to work the remainder of the 10 weeks. She was, however, barred from future employment by the company. There have been no repetitions since. Student reaction to our handling of the incident was mostly favorable.

Recruiting for the program was done by guidance counselors in the participating schools who agreed to recommend youngsters they judged were neediest. A quota was established for each school. All school recommendations were accepted by the company. Using counselors as recruiters may have been unwise. Many of the youth, most of whom were black, were critical of the counseling in their schools. As one boy put it: "The school didn't help much. I heard about General Foods from a friend. The guidance counselors don't care. You have to ask them. They don't tell you about things."

In fairness to the schools, the youngsters were, if not openly hostile to people from the "establishment," at least highly sensitive to slights, real or imaginary. Some company personnel, picking up official Operation Opportunity terminology, referred to the youth as disadvantaged. This provoked an understandable complaint from one girl: "They should stop calling us disadvantaged. Everybody thinks it means we're all black. That's not the way it is. I don't know what we should be called—just not the same old names."

Work assignments were the responsibility of each supervisor. Training was on the job in 1968, in a more conventional classroom setting in 1969. Here again there were problems. Classroom training drew almost unanimous criticism from the students; they felt they were still at school instead of in the business world. And our own employees were critical of some of the supervisors. "All the supervisors in charge of the student employees should be professionals," one personnel officer said. "We had some who were secretaries or technicians a year or two out of high school. All they did was display their ignorance of the world to these kids."

Group Leaders Chosen

But most supervisors approached their tasks with enthusiasm and a highly developed sense of responsibility. "I was asked why I was knocking myself out to be helpful," one unit head reported. "How do you answer that? It's part of my job and these kids especially need the help. The operation won't work if we supervisors don't make it work."

Before the students actually reported for duty, group leaders were selected in advance from among supervisors and students. Their role was to keep communication among all participants open and free, and to provide continuous feedback into the system. If students were late or absent, the company wanted informal but prompt information. One student, continually tardy, turned out to have no clock, an admission he willingly made to a student leader. At the end of the summer this group leader declared, "The biggest trouble came if students and supervisors kept complaints and difficulties all shut in." When this happened, it was soon evident that student and supervisor ignored each other. Neither cared about the other. One more youth was lost.

Company personnel and supervisory people soon learned that this educational

experience was not one-sided. They had a lot to learn along with the student employees. It was evident after a few weeks that the gap between students and the company was greater than had been anticipated. "I overheard a lot of comments from regular employees," said one resentful young student, a girl. "They didn't know why we were here. They thought it was just a gift to us. 'They do nothing,' they'd say, 'just walk around the halls. It's a big waste of money.' " She ended with a vague but heartfelt plea for understanding: "Everybody should know more about us."

We had anticipated problems of adjustment. There had been preliminary briefings of students and the supervisors under whom they would work. But the briefings should have begun earlier and lasted longer. The students who entered the company were in a sense aliens from another world. There was not enough time on the job for supervisors and students to learn about each other. Everyone has his expectations conditioned by his experience. The force of this conditioning—on both sides—had not been taken adequately into account in the company's planning. The occasional friction that resulted can be reduced by increased sensitivity training. What is a ghetto youth? What is a supervisor? What is General Foods? These must be answered satisfactorily on both sides.

How to make each job meaningful was another problem. The program offered several different methods for students to convey their reactions to Operation Opportunity, including meetings and an anonymous questionnaire distributed toward the close of the 10 weeks. Much criticism was directed at the quality of work the students were assigned. They wanted their work to be real and needed; some students wanted to work harder than the company had allowed for. They felt cheated and patronized when their jobs were merely contrived to keep them busy. They wanted to feel that whatever they did was being counted on by someone. Not all the jobs we offered them were this kind.

"I got a lot of busy work to do," said one boy. "Like if you were in the third or fourth grade you could do it. I wanted to do more." Supervisors agreed. "The job has to be real," said one. "It has to be something that if the kid doesn't come

in for 2 days someone will say to him, 'Damn it, you missed work and we counted on you.' That's what he wants to hear."

Several divisions avoided the "busy work" difficulty entirely. They planned carefully and submitted realistic job descriptions. They chose supervisors who were interested and knowledgeable.

Work performance in these divisions was at a high level. The students were prompt, eager, and quickly established good relations with other workers. One young man in a situation like this found an error in some reports that would have cost the company $25,000 if left undiscovered. He said he felt "part of the team" and that he was really contributing.

Adjusting a work plan to meet the needs of disadvantaged youngsters is relatively simple compared to the adjustments that often are required in personal attitudes. And personal attitudes are much more critical in an office environment than in a factory. In a factory people are paid for easily measurable work—for example, to take boxes off an assembly line. If you do it well, you are a good employee. If you stop, your failure is immediately visible and you are disciplined. You know where you are all the time. You know where you stand and what is thought of you. The lines are clearly drawn.

It is quite different in an office. Technical matters occupy perhaps half the time. The rest of the job involves some form of social interchange. Personnel people report that it was in this area of the job that the young students became frustrated and their anxieties intensified.

Most Want to Return

Think of a youngster from the ghetto. He (or she) comes into an office where there is a great deal of cordiality and relationships are mostly informal. He has to be able to say: "Good morning . . . good afternoon . . . how are you today . . . yesterday was my birthday . . . I hear you bought a car . . . that was a good game you shot Sunday. . . ." A lot of time he has to improvise and so he must be at ease. But every time he cannot fill the silence he feels further apart, more of an outcast.

Last summer one young woman quit because she found it too difficult to bridge the communication gap. She was working with women 12 to 14 years her senior. She had failed to touch at any point. It was a particularly difficult situation for a person from a minority environment to endure. It enhanced her existing conviction that she did not belong.

Despite the obstacles, Operation Opportunity has made progress. The overall response from the young people involved has been favorable. Most of those who are eligible want to return in the summer of 1970. The open discussion of their complaints has been accepted as evidence that the company is not playing games with them and genuinely intends to learn too.

And that, of course, is what has been taking place the last two summers. This year the company is making greater efforts to involve employees who want to be a part of Operation Opportunity. Every employee involved, not merely upper management, must feel a part of the effort, must feel the urgency and importance of what is being done. A program like this cannot be forced on regular employees by management decree.

Nor can student employees be delivered to a department like office supplies. Individual department needs must be worked out in advance and greater efforts made to match jobs with students' interests and abilities. These youngsters require more time and attention than is given to conventional new employees. This means closer liaison with the high schools and a more determined response from school guidance counselors. Company representatives already have visited the schools and have brought a number of students to our White Plains headquarters to acquaint them with the firm and to help refine plans for Operation Opportunity 1970.

Hopefully, the program will mean as much to them as it did to one of last year's student group leaders, who summed up her feelings this way:

"The money you keep for us is the big thing. The students know it's there and they feel they're working for their own future. We didn't have this before. It makes you stop and look at yourself. You get the feeling that what you always wanted to do is maybe possible. . . . I was afraid before to want to be something. I'm not afraid now to have ambitions. I think I'll make it."

And that is what Operation Opportunity is all about. □

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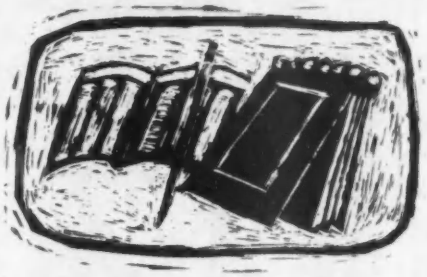
News&Notes



Higher pay and more interesting jobs for workers is the usual result of automation, according to the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center. After a 5-year study of the U.S. labor force, the center concluded that the brunt of any unemployment stemming from automation appeared to fall on marginal workers. But most workers affected reported income gains more frequently than workers whose equipment did not undergo any technological change. Worker complaints about boredom, monotony, and downgrading of skills as a result of automation were outweighed by statements that their new tasks were more demanding, and that they acquired new skills and used more judgment and initiative.

* * *

President Nixon has directed the Secretary of Labor to prepare a plan "expanding present enrollment in Department of Labor programs providing training for construction skills by 50 percent, increasing this pace over the next 5 years." About 30,000 trainees are now enrolled in those programs. The President in his recent statement on "Combating Construction Inflation and Meeting Future Construction Needs" also ordered the development of "training programs in the construction crafts to be provided servicemen during the final months of their enlistment" and the enrollment of 50,000 trainees during the next 2 years. He also called for the expansion and improvement of apprenticeship programs in the construction crafts and for increased opportunities for minority groups in the "higher skilled construction trades." The President noted: "Between now and 1978 almost 2 million new jobs will be created in the construction industry. The normal operation of the labor market will supply many of these workers, but new training and apprentice programs will be required, and access to the skilled labor market must be eased to meet heavy demands in the 1970's."

* * *

Improving job opportunities and life in general in rural areas would help prevent the cities from strangling themselves, according to the President's Task Force on Rural Development. The study group proposes a massive effort by private employers, aided by the Government, to bring jobs to the countryside. The main tool would be tax incentives for companies willing to locate their plants in officially designated "rural development areas."

* * *

The Department of Labor has funded a $150,000 experimental project to move New York City high school dropouts into college. About 120 Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees are among 180 young men and women being tutored and counseled for 15 hours a week at the City University of New York. Those selected receive special supportive services, including classroom remedial education, individual tutoring, and personal counseling. When they pass the high school equivalency exam, they are enrolled as freshmen in the university's College Discovery Program, where they continue to receive supportive services throughout their college careers.

* * *

U.S. shipyards expect to build $5 billion worth of ships in the 1970's. This revitalizing of the merchant fleet would generate about 16,000 extra jobs by 1973. Welders, carpenters, painters, and machinists and their helpers will be in heavy demand.

* * *

A Papago Indian, Herman E. Narcho, 37, has been appointed Special Assistant for Indian Affairs in the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration. He is a native of Tucson, Ariz. He will maintain active contact with various Indian organizations charged with providing advice to both the Department and to tribal groups regarding manpower problems.

* * *

The U.S. Department of Labor has announced 4-year grants totaling $3,150,000 to 12 universities for manpower research and the education of manpower specialists. The 12 schools were selected from 140 applicants by a seven-man panel of college professors who met recently in Washington. Each award winner will receive $37,500 in August 1970 as a 1-year planning grant, and about $75,000 annually for the next 3 years.

from Ghetto to Campus

The question was whether there will ever be complete justice for minorities. "Yes, someday," said Alonzo Abner, a senior at Wilberforce University. "The whites are finally waking up and realizing the potentialities of minorities, especially blacks."

Larry Postell isn't so sure. "Poverty is caused by the economic system," he said. "It's a question of who's really running the show in this country." He thinks it's "certain interest groups—oil, property owners, people who have the power to make decisions. They tell Congress what to do. We say this is a democracy and everyone has a say. But not really. Letting me vote once a year doesn't give me the power to make decisions. I can't tell Nixon to pull out of Vietnam."

These two young blacks are among the more than 200 Wilberforce, (Ohio) University students whose enrollments in the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) led to a college education and a chance to escape poverty. (Total Wilberforce enrollment is about 1,000.) The NYC provides supportive services and work experience primarily for poverty-level high school students and dropouts. But a limited number of high school graduates may be enrolled "in instances where the functional educational level is so low that their need for assistance is as great as the needs of nongraduates."

Five years ago Abner was, in his own words, "a typical product of the urban ghetto." This month he goes to work in Philadelphia for one of the eight largest accounting firms in the world at a starting salary of $10,000 a year.

"I guess you have to be fairly sharp to get in with the Big 8. The field is wide open. They pay top dollar to get quality help," he said with all the gusto and unconscious cockiness of a 23-year-old on the rise.

Abner entered Wilberforce through the efforts of the Philadelphia NYC. Project officials saw his potential during the July 1965-August 1966 period when he was an out-of-school enrollee, working at Mercy-Douglas Hospital. They helped him fill out the papers and get the Government loans and scholarships he needed to enter college.

Could he have done it without the NYC?

"I don't think so," he said. "Really, I was a model ghetto product, right out of the Philadelphia schools. I got married in September 1965 and NYC was my first job encounter. I worked there a year and I had no plans at all to go to college. I just didn't have any motivation. Mrs. (Harriet) Truman (Philadelphia NYC coordinator) gave it to me.

"I never thought I had the potential. I was brainwashed into thinking I didn't have it. They do that by giving blacks an inferior education. I'd been brainwashed that blacks can't do anything. I believed it. College woke me up."

Wilberforce, virtually an all-black school, was hard to get used to at first. "I'm used to integrated schools with some balance between blacks and whites," he said. "I was startled at seeing nothing but black faces here. But it depends on one's outlook, perspective, and philosophy as to whether he should go to an integrated or segregated school. If I had it to do over, I'd go to a predominantly black college. You learn of the great potential of blacks.

"I need 2 years of accounting experience to sit for my C.P.A. So I

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want to go to night school and take math. But I also want to go to the Wharton School of Business (University of Pennsylvania) and get my master's. There's a ring about that M.B.A."

The ring of money?

He grinned. "I just want to see how far I can go. I can't believe I got this far with my background." He is the oldest of six children, raised without a father. His mother is a government clerk.

His goals are "to live as comfortably as I can, to achieve as much as I can, and help others as much as I can," in that order.

Postell, 21, who came to Wilberforce via the Dayton NYC and will graduate in August 1971, is less firm about his personal goals. "Everything is so transitory," he said. "How can you think of personal goals when governments are setting up missiles for nuclear war? War is a possibility if you want to be realistic about it."

Both young men agreed however that college has alerted them to the great issues of the day. Postell defines these as "poverty, revamping the governmental system, making this country a brother to other countries. We have to stop fighting wars, quit looking at other people as subhumans." Americans do this both at home and abroad, he thinks. American intolerance is so intense, he feels, that it extends not only to Indians, blacks, and Spanish Americans but also to "hippies and people who have long hair."

Yet, he does not feel that being black will necessarily hurt his career. "Not really, unless I let it defeat me, get a hang-up about it. I want people to accept me as a person, then they can't hate me."

Another NYC graduate, bright and bubbly Marion Wooden, has had a "gorgeous time" at Wilberforce. After graduating from Spring Grove, Va., she moved to Philadelphia and joined the NYC, and from there went on to Wilberforce where she has won a string of prizes and honors, including a trip to Europe. She graduates in August 1970.

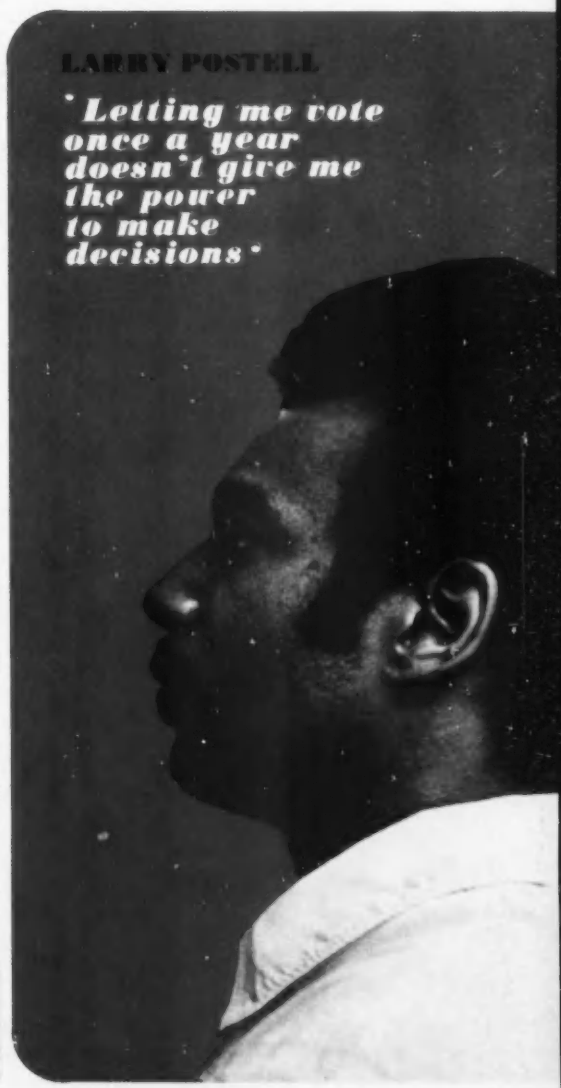
"I've had some job offers—with Ohio Bell, the Washington, D.C. public school system (she's an elementary education major), and a black public relations firm. But I hope to get a scholarship to graduate school, Temple or Kent State, and then become a teacher.

"When I entered NYC back in Philadelphia I thought I was the most unfortunate child in the world. But I saw 16-year-old girls with two kids, and I got a little better perspective." From January through August 1966, Miss Wooden had a full-time NYC work assignment as a transmittal clerk at the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) in Philadelphia.

"In April Mrs. Truman approached us with college. All those who were interested met for a week, and she told us about Wilberforce and the school's cooperative education program (alternating periods of work and full-time college attendance).

"I was satisfied with the job at IRS but not with the $1.25 an hour (NYC pay in those days)." She could have transferred from being a Corpsman to a regular IRS employee "but I saw girls who had been working for years and were struggling along at low-paying jobs. When I went to Philly I never thought I'd go to college. But when college came along, I knew I had the initiative to study and acquire a degree."

She entered Wilberforce in August 1966, and spread her wings, academically and personally. She became a B student and "learned how to get along with people. I was shy. I joined a sorority and became active in my class, and sort of blossomed out." She was elected Miss Freshman, became one of the fraternity sweethearts, joined the choir, the band, the cheering squad, and the Library Club, worked on the yearbook,



Ghetto to Campus
continued

was elected a student council representative, was a runner-up in the Miss Wilberforce contest, and made the National Honor Society and "Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities."

The highlight of her life in college was winning the Heinz 57 Award, a $1,500 prize given annually to a junior girl picked by a committee of faculty and students based on scholastic achievement and personal qualities. This prize permitted her to study and travel abroad in the summer of 1969. After 3 weeks of classes at the University of Rome, during which she lived with an Italian family, she set out on an unforgettable tour of 13 countries. "It was really a riot," she said. "Without Mrs. Truman it would never have happened. She's a graduate of Wilberforce, you know, and a beautiful individual.

"I can hardly believe it when I sit here and tell people about these things. Before I moved to Philadelphia I'd never been out of Spring Grove, population about 800."

College for her has been a welcome contrast to high school. "The problem I had when I was in school is that I was taught the 3 R's the traditional way. They poured it in you, there was nothing creative. The classes were so large no one had time to give you individual attention. I look back on my education and it was pitiful clear through high school. Every year there were different teachers and high school was very, very poor. In our area we had a good deal of poverty and sharecropping."

Wilberforce was founded in 1856 and has been under the auspices of the African Methodist Episcopal Church since 1863. Some of its buildings are new and modern. Others are obsolescent. Shorter Hall, the main center of instruction and administration, is 48 years old and looks every day of it. The library dates back to 1907, and one of the residence halls to 1913. However, the school has a $15 million capital gifts program underway and by 1972 a new college occupying 100 acres will be completed.

"I'm not worried about the new college," said Rory Kaufman, a 22-year-old senior from Los Angeles. "It's the people that're important. Facilities don't make any difference as long as you have the instructors and the basic materials." Then he laughed. "Of course, it is a shock for the freshmen."

Expressing a view shared by many of his classmates, Kaufman said: "We wouldn't be here without all these government grants. There weren't that many scholarships available. And the banks wouldn't lend you the money, not to a black."

He is not so sure a black college is the best idea for a Negro seeking higher education. "The good thing about it is you learn the value of unity and working together, though it's sure hard to get them to do it. But an integrated school is better. You learn about whites and vice versa. There's less fear. It's fear that makes prejudice and all the trouble. You learn about a guy and you learn you have nothing to fear. You work together as human beings, not white or black students but people.

"But you sure got a spirit and tradition here. Wilberforce is great in that sense. I've really been impressed since I've been here."

Would he return to Los Angeles on graduation?

"Just as fast as I can," he laughed. "That's where the money is. I'll make a pile and then I can put money into Wilberforce as an alumnus."

Though his major is elementary education, he may go into show business, when he graduates in August. "Either I'll continue in education or go into promotional work, booking concerts, entertainers, and so forth. I've been doing it for the Student Council. We've brought a lot of entertainers on campus. We had Ray Charles."

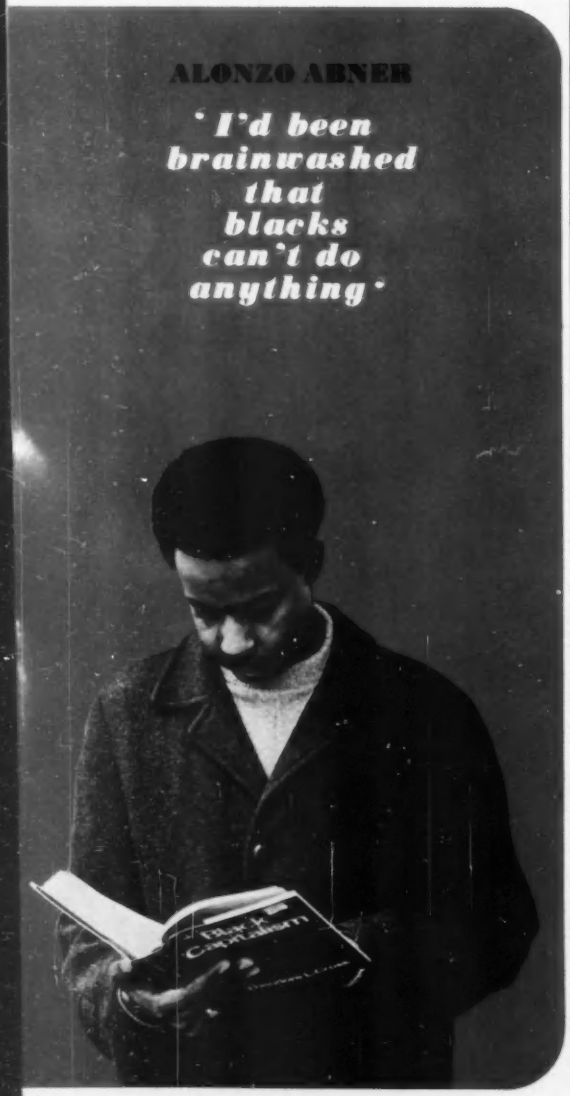
Kaufman was never enrolled in the NYC but credits it for his entry into college. "I was in the Boys League in Watts and we were working with NYC. They got me interested in going to college. They told me about Wilberforce and influenced me."

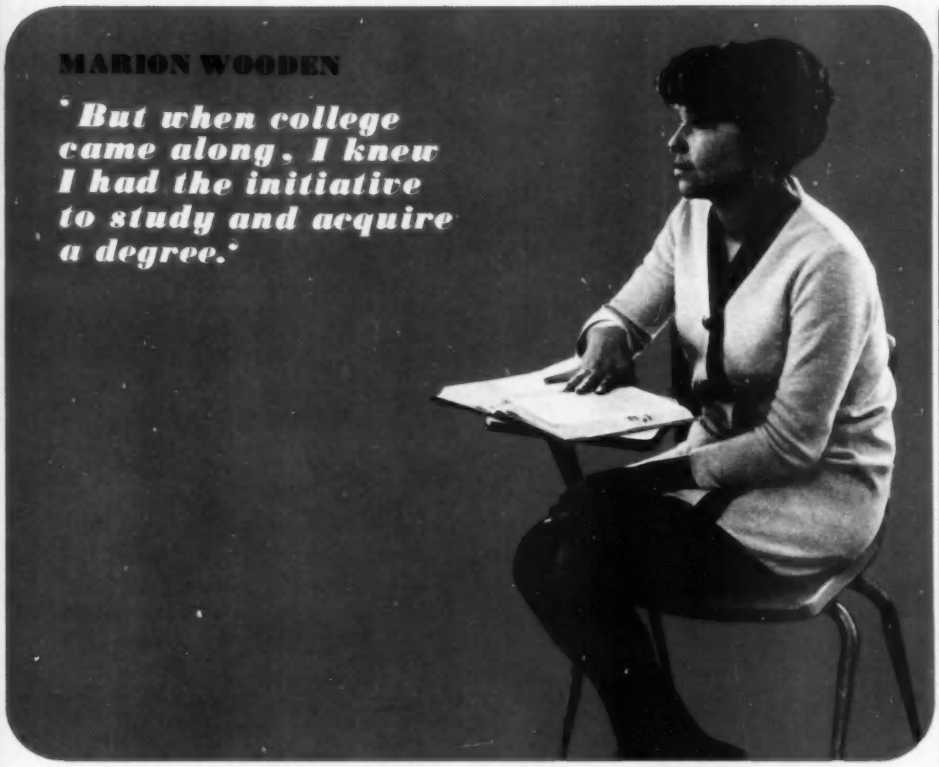
Virginia R. Zeigler, a 20-year-old sociology major who will graduate in December, gives the NYC direct credit for her chance to attend college. She was a member of the Charleston, S.C., NYC during her senior year at high school and the summer following. "Mr. Clyburn and especially Mrs. Martinez really pushed us." At that time (spring 1967) James Clyburn was director of the Neighborhood Youth Corps in Charleston and Mrs. Laura Martinez was a counselor. In 1967 they sent 34 enrollees to college, all to Wilberforce. The following year they had 51 accepted by various universities, 34 by Wilberforce alone.

"I wanted to come to college, but I didn't have any money," said Miss Ziegler. "If I had started working, I would have been sidetracked. My

ALONZO ABNER

'I'd been brainwashed that blacks can't do anything.'





father didn't like the idea of my coming out here. He's the type who wants all his chicks around him, but he's come around. It's the greatest thing that ever happened to me. I've met different people, seen different towns, and this, plus the co-op, has widened my outlook."

She worked for the Washington, D.C. government as a welfare case aide in 1968 and a counselor aide in 1969.

Her ambition now is to "go to graduate school and study sociology (her major at Wilberforce) and teach on the college level. I may apply at Antioch but I need a scholarship. It's a money problem.

"Dad's a manual laborer. He works hard and I wish I could help him. One of the prime reasons I'm doing all this is to help my family. I'm the first one in my family ever to go to college. Life's really been hard on my father—being a black man in Charleston."

Carolyn McAden's education plans are the most ambitious of all the former Corpsmen. A quiet, studious woman of 21, she hopes to get a doctorate in psychology after graduation in December. "It's only 5 more years," she said. "I plan to set up my own clinic and treat autistic children." Autism, she explained, is a state of mind characterized by daydreaming, hallucinations, and disregard of external reality. "It's caused by a shock or traumatic experience. I worked with three autistic children in England and they all had a bad experience in their history."

Her cooperative work experience included 8 months in England last year at a school for severely mentally handicapped children. "I decided I wanted to go abroad for co-op," she said. "When the offer came in to the school, I jumped at it."

The youngest of three children, she came to Wilberforce via the Philadelphia NYC. Her father is an assembly worker in Philadelphia. "I got into the Corps the summer after I graduated from high school. We had classes in the morning to prepare us for college. In the afternoon I worked at the recreation center, and 2 days a week I tutored in math. But that first summer in NYC I didn't go to college. I needed money. I worked until one day in August 1967 the employment officer said, 'You're college material.' He got me back into NYC and Mrs. Truman took over." She entered Wilberforce in September.

As much as she likes Wilberforce, Miss McAden believes "integrated or mixed schools are better. They're more rounded culturally. I'm against segregation of any kind and, of course, this is segregated."

Tuition, room, and board at Wilberforce is $990 per semester, and there are three semesters a year. Because so many of the students cannot afford it, the college has established a financial aids program, resting on a combination of scholarships, cooperative education, work-study programs, and Federal grants and loans ranging from $200 to $1,000 per year.

The students, with the help of the university (and Corpsmen with the help of NYC staffers), put these programs together in various combinations to get through school. Abner, for example, has used Federal student loans and grants, money earned through the co-operative education and work-study programs, and a scholarship plan of the State of Pennsylvania to get through school. Together he and his wife, who also is a Wilberforce student, will owe about $6,000 in Federal student loans when they graduate, payable over a 10-year period.

The $6,000 debt Abner takes with him from Wilberforce along with his diploma is, of course, bigger than that owed by most disadvantaged youngsters who make the long trip from the ghetto to the campus. But the journey is not easy for any of them.

As Rory Kaufman sees it, "Most students here are from underprivileged families and if they make it, they feel they have really accomplished something, a lot of them for the first time in their lives. The most important thing I've learned is about people—their habits, their ways, how they think and treat others. . . . It's great being here, being black, and being in the university. I came here to find myself . . . to learn about my black brothers and sisters, to get ready for the outside world. It's not the grades, it's how you learn to relate to society. That's a tough society out there." □

The Neglected Art of Job Hunting

By Laura Perlman

Even in the best of times, some 3 million Americans are looking for work. A large share are young people out looking for their first jobs or housewives who have decided to seek employment. Others are workers who have lost their jobs or people who have work but want to change jobs.

At one time or another, practically everyone needs a job. Yet for an activity that engages so many people, job hunting is a neglected art. The trouble is most people do not recognize it as an art at all. Many people who already have steady work seem to think that a person who knows how to do a job simply goes out and gets one.

Once they face the prospect of a job search, however, many people swiftly realize that they have no real idea of the best way to go about it. Likewise, they have no notion of where to learn how.

Guidance and assistance is available from a number of sources. One of the newest aids is Merchandising Your Job Talents, just published by the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration. It is a detailed guide to a well-planned job search, primarily for professional and clerical workers and people in related fields. For young, inexperienced workers and people with job-related problems, employment service offices across the country offer more personal assistance, through special workshops and job-hunting courses.

Mrs. Perlman is a member of the Manpower Administration information staff.

The need for such guidance is obvious to anyone who has ever fumbled through a job search, and it has been thoroughly documented by social scientists. The errors and omissions of jobseekers are legion. Many, for example, rely largely on job tips from friends and relatives, instead of consulting sources that offer them a better chance of finding a good job.

Others flunk their job interviews. They are the applicants who prompt comments like the following, culled from a job interviewer's notes: One applicant appeared "overbearing, overaggressive, know-it-all," while another was "nervous, ill at ease, unable to express himself clearly." A third "never heard of the company; asks no questions about the job," and a fourth "condemned past employers and criticized fellow workers."

One study of jobseeking behavior[1] funded by the Manpower Administration showed that many workers, especially younger ones, are so unnerved by the prospect of looking for work that they carry out a half-hearted search. The study dubbed this syndrome "job interview anxiety." Workers who have it tend to

[1] Harold L. Sheppard and A. Harvey Belitsky, *The Job Hunt: Jobseeking Behavior of Unemployed Workers in a Local Economy* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966).

put off starting their search, even though people who begin right away are much more apt to find jobs. When they finally do start, many do not bother to look for work at certain firms, because they are rumored not to be hiring or for other reasons. This reluctance to check with every firm can cost a worker a job.

The study pointed out that to improve their work prospects many people need help in changing their job-hunting behavior as well as job training.

Often the ability to get a job is totally unrelated to the ability to perform satisfactorily once it is obtained. An individual who is skilled at preparing resumes and who does well at an interview may get a job even if he is not fully qualified in other respects. Conversely, a fully qualified person may fail to get a job because of a poorly prepared resume or nervousness at an interview. When this happens the employer as well as the qualified applicant loses.

Booklet Gives Pointers

As the "Merchandising" booklet notes, looking for work is really a selling job. A jobseeker has a product to sell — his knowledge, skills, and experience. What he needs to know is how to market it effectively. Whether a person is just out of school and ready to start his career or looking for a new position after 20 years' experience, some of the techniques presented in this booklet may help. It offers suggestions on:

- Where a person can find out more about the kinds of jobs he is qualified to hold. A career counselor at the employment service can help, the booklet suggests. Another good source is the Labor Department's OCCUPATIONAL OUTLOOK HANDBOOK, which gives the latest information on more than 700 occupations.
- How a jobseeker can present his background in a resume that will convince an employer to hire him. Most jobseekers think a resume must contain a chronological listing of jobs and their duties. Not so, the booklet says. For some people, a description of job experience by functions is more effective. Using this approach the job hunter describes briefly the types of work he has done—such as research, management, or engineering—without breaking them down by individual jobs.
- How to write a letter of application that catches an employer's interest and makes him want to talk to the person who wrote it. "Be clear, brief, and businesslike; and enclose your resume," the booklet says.
- Where to go for information on job opportunities in a particular field. The section on Sources of Job Information can help a person decide where to start his job search. It gives the main characteristics of each source, such as the services offered, the types of jobs listed, and the employment information available there. Some facts may surprise a good many jobseekers. How many, for example, know that State employment service offices have 103 centers across the country whose sole function is to find jobs for professional people?
- How a jobseeker can present his qualifications to best advantage at a job interview. First, learn all you can about the company, including why you want to work there, the booklet suggests. At the interview, "stress your qualifications without exaggeration."

As a guide to other steps in the job search, the booklet offers tips to jobseekers on planning their time, taking tests, and learning to profit from their job interviews.

Some people, though, need more help than any booklet can provide. Many have limited educations, little work experience, and other disadvantages that keep them from holding good jobs. In recent years Federal and State agencies (and many employers) have concentrated their forces on removing these barriers. They have offered job training and a variety of other help to prepare people for employment.

But they also recognize that the job hunt itself can be a formidable barrier. As a result, a number of employment service offices across the country are holding special sessions and workshops where young people and adult workers can learn how to find jobs.

Many of these sessions are conducted at Youth Opportunity Centers (YOC's)—employment service offices especially for young people. Many of the youth they help are school dropouts. Others have finished high school but do not know what they want to do next. Practically all have no idea of how to go about looking for work.

At the YOC's they learn job-hunting techniques. They learn how to groom themselves and dress properly for work. They practice filling out applications and writing resumes. They visit places of employment to learn what the world of work is like. And they learn, through role playing, how to act at a job interview.

At a role-playing session one person plays the applicant and makes the best approach he can to the employer, played by his group leader. After the mock interview, members of the group discuss how the applicant did—and how he could do better. Often the interview is recorded and played back so the applicant can hear how he sounded and appraise his own performance. At repeated interviews, he can gain self-confidence and improve.

Sometimes, a real employer plays himself. He may take part in order to help inexperienced young people lose their fear of employers, and to discover that he is looking for potential, not high initial qualifications, for the job he needs to fill. Also, the employer and the young applicants learn how to communicate with each other to mutual advantage. Occasionally, an employer drops his role-playing and actually hires a young person.

Self-Confidence Boosted

When a young person trained at a YOC is ready, he starts his job search. He receives any help he needs in filling out his applications and is referred to employers who have openings he is qualified for. Sometimes he is sent—or even accompanied—to a firm where the employer has been informed about him and has asked or agreed to have him referred.

Not every young person moves into a good job immediately, of course. Some decide they need more education or job training before they start the search. But many who had been too unsure of themselves or too apathetic to look for work, or who had looked and were turned down repeatedly, are finding jobs they want—and staying with them.

Some young people are ready for a job search as soon as they learn the techniques. Others have problems they must work out first—such as finding out why they failed before. Sometimes the reason is comparatively easy to pinpoint and correct. A recent high school graduate in Miami, for example, merely had to find out how she sounded to others. She had been turned down for several clerical jobs.

Job Hunting

continued

She was making a bad impression at job interviews and could not understand why. At the YOC she soon found out: She was unknowingly giving others the feeling that she thought she was better than most people. Through group discussions, she learned how to relate to others better and gained self-confidence. As a result, she made a better impression at interviews and found a job she wanted.

Many young people have more basic problems than ignorance about job-hunting techniques. They need to build faith in themselves and develop realistic attitudes about work. They are like the young people at the San Jose YOC who were jobless because they were afraid to apply for work or seek a job interview. By the end of the course, which included group discussions and trips to places of employment, they had gained the courage they needed. The same story, with countless variations, could be told about jobless young people who come to the YOC's for help in cities across the country.

Problems that keep people from finding jobs are by no means confined to the young. They occur among people of all ages, and hence the employment service helps adults as well as youth prepare for job searches.

Sometimes this special help takes the form of workshops such as those conducted by the California Department of Employment's Adult Opportunity Center in San Francisco. The workshops were evening discussion sessions where men talked over job-hunting techniques, exchanged job information, and helped each other under the guidance of group leaders. They learned to fill out application forms and practiced for job interviews through role-playing sessions.

The men who took part in the workshops lived in Western Addition, a depressed, predominately Negro area of San Francisco. All were unemployed, and most had limited educations, erratic work records, and lifetime histories of failure. Some were hostile, others hopeless and apathetic.

These men clearly needed the knowledge they gained about job-hunting techniques. But far more significant was developing the self-confidence and stability to raise their aspirations and change their directions.

For one middle-aged man, the change was dramatic. Obviously a sensitive and intelligent person, he could type and had a good command of English. Yet for years he had been primarily a migrant farmworker. At the first few sessions, he said looking for steady work was not worth the effort, because the jobs he could find would never satisfy him anyway.

Abilities Rediscovered

Then he began to rediscover abilities that had gone unused so long he had actually forgotten he had them. Upon being assigned to write up a workshop discussion, he prepared a report that was clearly of professional caliber. And his contribution to the workshop was so effective he was able to turn his talent for helping and guiding others to vocational use. Despite his lack of qualifying experience, he was hired as a vocational coach in the city's Concentrated Employment Program—a job that permitted him to use talents that had long been wasted.

A 28-year-old newcomer to San Francisco was another workshop participant who was obviously wasting his life. A high school graduate who appeared bright, he had drifted aimlessly across the country, working at a series of unskilled jobs that seemed below his potential.

During the first workshop discussions, he refused to talk at all. But by the third night he was ready to tell his story—one he had not mentioned to anyone in 11 years. At 17 he had left home amid much fanfare to join the Marines. But he failed the entrance exam, which he was told a third-grader could pass, and returned home—defeated.

Since then, he said, "Everytime I'd pick up a pencil I'd feel as if my brain was split open and the whole world was looking in." He never passed another test and started walking away from any competitive situation. The other men in the workshop responded to this anguished tale with sympathy and stories of their own about flubbing what was supposed to be an easy situation.

After the session, the group leader persuaded the man to try a sample company test and convinced him that he really knew the answers. Building on his new self-confidence, the leader sent the man out to take the company test he had successfully tried at the workshop. During the next week he took and passed three employment tests and accepted a job at one of the companies. Later he dropped by the workshop to report on his surprisingly large paychecks and on his selection for upgrading.

The cases of these two men may be more dramatic than most, but they illustrate the sort of gains that jobless people make at employment service workshops and through other job-hunting assistance. Not everyone changes his whole way of life, but nearly all profit from the help. They learn to appraise their own abilities and work out the problems that keep them from finding the jobs they want. And they begin job-hunting with the self-confidence that comes from knowing how to carry out an effective search. □

Research

Following is a list of recent reports completed under research contracts and grants from the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor. Copies may be obtained from the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, Springfield, Va. 22151 for $3 per paper copy or 65 cents per microfiche copy. Specify accession (PB) number and the precise title of the report, and send remittance with order.

CONTRACTS

Employer Policies in a Changing Labor Market, by Margaret S. Gordon, University of California, Berkeley (PB 188051).

Surveys the characteristics of employers and a variety of employer practices in the San Francisco Bay area.

Concepts and Measurements for Manpower and Occupational Analysis, by James G. Scoville, Harvard University (PB 187702).

Examines the principles, purposes, and application of existing manpower and occupational classification systems and develops an economic theory of the determination of job content and the internal labor market.

Employment Problems of Released Prisoners, by George A. Pownall, University of Maryland (PB 183543).

Reports on three surveys designed to examine employment problems of released prisoners in light of their educational background, work history, and vocational or work-related training in prison.

Technological Advance in an Expanding Economy: Its Impact on a Cross-Section of the Labor Force, by Eva Mueller, The University of Michigan (PB 188676).

Establishes the feasibility of the cross-sectional approach in assessing the impact of technological change on the U.S. labor force.

A Study of Interviewer-Respondent Interaction in the Urban Employment Survey, by Charles F. Cannell, The University of Michigan (PB 188456).

Provides basic knowledge about behavior in a personal interview and investigates the effects of certain respondent demographic characteristics on the verbal behavior of the interviewer and respondent.

University Manpower Research Seminar for the Stimulation of Professional Research Interest, by Jacob J. Kaufman and Louis Levine, The Pennsylvania State University (PB 188363).

Summarizes two seminars conducted to acquaint participants with research potentials in the manpower field.

Economic Benefits and Costs of Retraining Courses in Michigan, by Einar Hardin and Michael Borus, Michigan State University (PB 189116).

Evaluates the impact of the Federal training programs on the national product, the disposable income of trainees, and the expenditures and receipts of the Government, based on samples of trainees who entered institutional training courses in Michigan between 1962 and 1964.

A Group Orientation Approach for Facilitating the Work Adjustment of the Hard-Core Unemployed, by Hjalmar Rosen, Wayne State University (PB 188045).

Analyzes the effectiveness of a program conducted by a utility company in Detroit to hire disadvantaged Negro men.

A Pilot Study in Observational Measurement of Behavioral Factors Associated With Increased Employability of Out-of-School Neighborhood Youth Corps Enrollees, by Richard E. Sykes, University of Minnesota (PB 189034).

Tests the usefulness of observational measurement and of the Minnesota Interaction Data Coding and Reduction System—a newly developed electronic instrument enabling the user to code behavior as it takes place.

Disadvantaged Youth Approaching the World of Work: A Study of Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) Enrollees in New York City, by Wallace Mandell, Sheldon Blackman, and Clyde E. Sullivan, Wakoff Research Center (PB 189015).

Examines the way in which NYC work experience programs affect the enrollees' transition from the program to actual employment.

The Training of Tool and Die Makers, by Morris A. Horowitz and Irwin L. Herrnstadt, Northeastern University (PB 187558).

Study of ways in which tool and die makers acquire their training.

The Role of Social Reinforcement Parameters in Improving Trainee Task Performance and Self-Image, by Reuben M. Baron and Alan R. Bass, Wayne State University (PB 187700).

Four laboratory-type experiments designed to test strategies for influencing the motivation and training performance of youth and adults.

Teenage Unemployment in Two Selected Rural Counties in the South, by Charles H. Rogers, North Carolina State University, and Benjamin Harris, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College (PB 188105).

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION GRANTS

Impact of the Mexican Alien Commuter on the Apparel Industry of El Paso, Texas (A Case Study), by Brian Scott Rungeling, University of Kentucky (PB 184847).

Surveys a sample of workers and all employers in the apparel industry of El Paso to determine the effect commuters have had on wage levels, employment, and industrial location.

An Analysis of Rural Manpower Migration Patterns in the South Plains Region of Texas, by Richard G. Stapleton, Texas Technological College (PB 188048).

A longitudinal case study involving 236 rural-reared male youths who graduated from four rural high schools during 1953-1963.

A Study of the Older Woman Worker Who Has Attempted to Enter or Re-Enter the White Collar Labor Force Through the Assistance of Community Training Programs in Clerical Occupations, by Dwayne Gene Schramm, University of California, Los Angeles (PB 188050).

Investigates six clerical training programs in Fresno, Calif. in which women 35 years of age and over participated.

The Socioeconomic Achievement of White Married Males in the United States: 1957-67, by David L. Featherman, The University of Michigan (PB 185985).

Analyzes careers of urban, white married men from the longitudinal data in the Princeton Fertility Study beginning in 1957, with respect to their orientation toward work, education, number, and spacing of children, and other factors.

The Aftermath of the Bracero: A Study of the Economic Impact on the Agricultural Hired Labor Market of Michigan From the Termination of Public Law 78, by John D. Mason, Michigan State University (PB 184906).

Evaluates the effects of the termination of the use of farmworkers from Mexico in terms of wage adjustments, the extent to which more domestic hired farmworkers became available as a result of such adjustments, and the extent to which acreage declines and capital substitutions occurred.

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